THE MODERN PHILOLOGY MONOGRAPHS

# The University of Chicago Manuscript OF THE *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* of Boccaccio

*By*
ERNEST HATCH WILKINS

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Saturnum qui genuit
Cronum.
Iapetum.
Oceat.
Vacat.
Glaucum.
Cererem.
Chyronis qui gen.
plutonis qui gen
Vacat.
Vacat.
Ochiroem.
Venerem
Lauiniam.
Pentiam
Senta fauna
Faunus qui gen
Eumenidum genitus.
Iahnus qui ge
Penetrem.
Sinnos.
Panes.
Acim.
Sanos.
Bonus

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TO THE MEMORY OF

FRANK WAKELEY GUNSAULUS

A LOVER OF ALL THINGS BEAUTIFUL
AND ALL THINGS TRUE

# PREFACE

The MS which is the subject of this monograph bears the number 100 (Lat. 46) in the collection of the Harper Memorial Library of the University of Chicago. It was presented to the University on June 15, 1916, by President Frank Wakeley Gunsaulus of the Armour Institute of Technology.

Chapters I–IV of this study are introductory. They assemble certain facts with regard to the composition and the early fortune of the *Genealogia* in view of which the values of the Chicago MS will be more fully evident. Chapters V–XX describe the Chicago MS, discuss its special values, and narrate its history.

The descriptive material has been prepared with detailed care, not only in the endeavor to do justice to the Chicago MS, but in the hope that this material may prove of interest as illustrative of the processes of the preparation, the writing, and the decoration of MSS in general.

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# CHAPTER I

## THE *GENEALOGIA DEORUM GENTILIUM*

The *Genealogia deorum gentilium,* the chief monument of Boccaccio's faithful and eager industry as Humanist, is a mythological encyclopedia in Latin prose, divided into a general proem and fifteen books. The general proem consists of a dedicatory letter and a single chapter. The fifteen books consist each of a special proem and several chapters.[1]

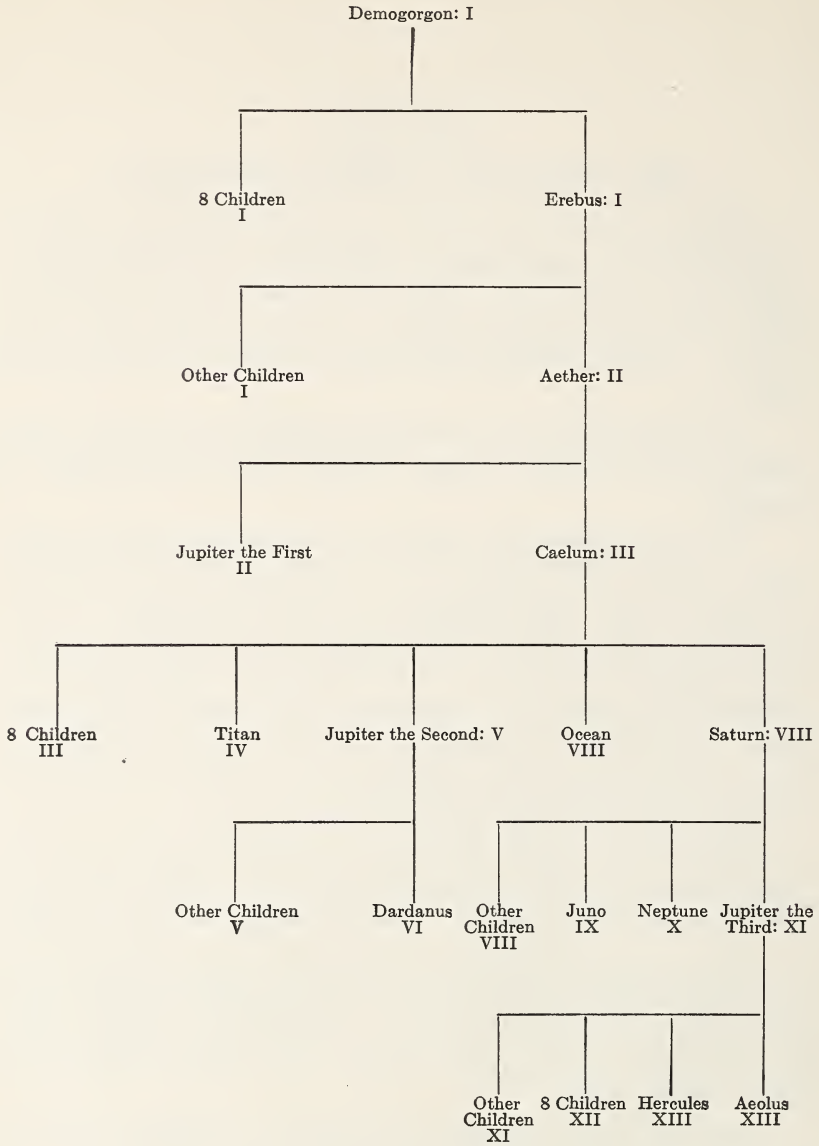
The single chapter of the general proem and the first thirteen books constitute the *Genealogia* proper. The last two books are really appendixes.

Within the introductory chapter and the first thirteen books Boccaccio presents and classifies all the mythological lore in any way accessible to him. His arrangement is strictly genealogical. The introductory chapter establishes Demogorgon as the original pagan god. Book I treats of Demogorgon and all his progeny, except his grandson Aether and his progeny, the account of whom fills the remaining twelve books. Book II treats of Aether himself, and of his son Jupiter the First and his progeny. The remaining eleven books treat similarly of Aether's other son, Caelum, and his progeny.

The plan of the work is indicated by the following *stemma.*[2] The Roman numerals denote the books in which the several divinities or groups of divinities are treated. In case the numeral is placed below

[1] The best general studies of the *Genealogia* are those by A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879), pp. 155–227, 388–89, 769–85, 849–65, 919–23, and *passim* elsewhere; O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde* (Brunswick, 1902), p. 93 to the end; H. Hauvette, *Boccace* (Paris, 1914), pp. 413–30, 446–48; and Cornelia C. Coulter, "The Genealogy of the Gods," *Vassar Mediaeval Studies* (New Haven, 1923), pp. 317–41.

[2] Reprinted from my monograph *The Trees of the "Genealogia deorum" of Boccaccio* (Chicago, 1923) (privately printed by the Caxton Club), p. 3.


Demogorgon: I
8 Children I
Erebus: I
Other Children I
Aether: II
Jupiter the First II
Caelum: III
8 Children III
Titan IV
Jupiter the Second: V
Ocean VIII
Saturn: VIII
Other Children V
Dardanus VI
Other Children VIII
Juno IX
Neptune X
Jupiter the Third: XI
Other Children XI
8 Children XII
Hercules XIII
Aeolus XIII

the name or the word "children" it is to be understood that the progeny of the divinity or divinities in question is treated in the same book.

Boccaccio's treatment of the many myths is very interesting. In the statement of the myths he is scholarly to a notable degree. He is careful, though not impeccable, in his inferences as to textual meaning, and he consistently cites his authorities. In the interpretation of the myths he is less scholarly and more medieval. Sometimes he reports earlier opinion, sometimes he hazards conjectures of his own. His interpretations are for the most part of three types: euhemeristic, natural, or moral. In some cases he holds that the divinities of the myth were real men or women whose deeds were so magnified in popular tradition as to lead to apotheosis. Elsewhere he suggests, for instance, that the fabled descent of Aurora from Titanus and Terra reflects the relation of the dawn to the sun and the earth; or that the transformation of Adonis into a flower symbolizes the fragility of beauty.[1] The frequent appearance of myths that seem mutually inconsistent leads Boccaccio in many cases to the hypothesis of a plurality of homonymous divinities. Thus three Jupiters appear in the *stemma* given above, and in the course of the work three Venuses and six Mercurys are introduced.

For the student of medieval texts this main portion of the *Genealogia* still retains great practical value; it is much more serviceable in the explanation of medieval mythological references than are the modern classical encyclopedias.

The fourteenth and fifteenth books of the *Genealogia*, though appendixes in the plan of Boccaccio, are far more important, in the history of culture, than the first thirteen.[2]

The fourteenth book is a defense of poetry. In it Boccaccio first satirizes his accusers—jurists, doctors, and theologians—and then enumerates and refutes the several charges brought against poetry: charges of nullity, mendacity, foolishness, immorality, obscurity, the charge that poetry is but a poor imitation of philosophy, and the

[1] Hortis, pp. 161–73, 363–524; Hauvette, pp. 424–27.

[2] Hortis, pp. 174–219; Hauvette, pp. 427–30.

charge that poetry had been condemned by Plato, St. Jerome, and Boethius. The defense is vigorous, now medieval in its legalistic technicality or its reliance on allegory, now modern in its perception and eloquent phrasing of permanent critical truth.[1] I quote the beginning of the fine chapter, the seventh, in which Boccaccio defines the nature and function of poetry:

> Poesis enim, quam negligentes abiciunt et ignari, est feruor quidam exquisite inueniendi atque dicendi, seu scribendi, quod inueneris. Qui, ex sinu dei procedens, paucis mentibus, ut arbitror, in creatione conceditur, ex quo, quoniam mirabilis sit, rarissimi semper fuere poete. Huius enim feruoris sunt sublimes effectus, ut puta mentem in desiderium dicendi compellere, peregrinas et inauditas inuentiones excogitare, meditatas ordine certo componere, ornare compositum inusitato quodam uerborum atque sententiarum contextu, uelamento fabuloso atque decenti ueritatem contegere.[2]

The entire chapter is printed below, in Chapter XV, in the reading of the Chicago MS.

The fifteenth book is a specific defense of the *Genealogia* itself with regard to utility, accuracy, order, completeness, truth, good faith, clearness, and modesty. It contains some further general defense of poetry, and much interesting autobiographical material.

Two features of the *Genealogia* which are of special interest, the Greek quotations and the illustrative genealogical trees, are discussed below, in Chapters II and III. The early Tables and Indexes of the work, which are also of special interest, are discussed in Chapter IV.

Boccaccio began the writing of the *Genealogia* about 1350. Late in 1370 or early in 1371, although he did not regard it as finished, he reluctantly allowed a friend to make a copy of an autograph MS of the work; and from that first apograph other copies were made without the consent of the author. During the four remaining years of his life, Boccaccio toiled on toward the perfection of the *Genealogia*, inserting, canceling, or modifying many passages. The autograph from

[1] See Elizabeth Woodbridge, "Boccaccio's Defence of Poetry as Contained in the Fourteenth Book of the *De genealogia deorum*," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIII (1898), 333–49.

[2] Hecker, p. 209.

which the first apograph was derived is not known to exist. A second autograph, showing the results of the revision, is preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, where it bears the number LII, 9.[1]

The *Genealogia* won immediate and long-enduring favor. There are extant some thirty or forty apographs made in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Of these, a MS now in Paris, No. 7877 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, has hitherto been regarded as the best. There are extant also eight or ten MSS of the same period which contain compendiums of the *Genealogia* or selections from it.[2]

The *Genealogia* was first printed in 1472, at Venice, by Wendelin of Speier. Seven other editions, all derived directly or indirectly from the first, appeared in the late fifteenth century and the early sixteenth: the second edition in 1481 at Reggio, the third in 1487 at Vicenza, the fourth in 1494 at Venice, the fifth in 1497 at Venice, the sixth in 1511 at Paris, the seventh in the same year at Venice, the eighth in 1532 at Basle.[3]

A compendium of the first thirteen books was printed at Cologne, probably in 1472.[4]

[1] Hecker, pp. 93–137; Hauvette, pp. 141, 446–48.

[2] Hortis, pp. 227, 388, 919–23, mentions 23 MSS of the *Genealogia* (not counting No. 62, which is the autograph, nor those mentioned in the next sentence in this note); Hecker, p. 97, n. 1, mentions one MS not mentioned by Hortis. Hortis, pp. 220, 919–23, mentions also 8 MSS which contain compendiums of the *Genealogia* or selections from it (Nos. 60, 66, 67, 70, 77, 80, and two of those mentioned on p. 220). On the Paris MS 7877, see Hortis, pp. 226, 921, No. 72, and Hecker, p. 138, n. 2, and p. 162.

[3] Hortis, pp. 770–85; Wilkins, "The Genealogy of the Editions of the *Genealogia deorum*," *Modern Philology*, XVII (1919), 425–38. I have examined the editions in the following copies: 1st, University of Chicago (gift of Dr. Gunsaulus) and Harvard; 2d, Newberry, Annmary Brown Memorial, and Library of Congress; 3d, Library of Congress; 4th, University of Chicago and Harvard; 5th, Library of Congress; 6th, University of Chicago and Harvard; 7th, Harvard; 8th, Harvard, and a copy belonging to Professor J. M. Manly. The edition of 1532 is the last edition of the complete Latin text of the *Genealogia*.

[4] Hortis, pp. 769–70; E. Voulliéme, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Bonn, 1903), p. 115, No. 258; Marie Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunabules des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Vol. II (Paris, 1905), pp. 29–30, No. 2464; *Catalogue of Books Printed in the XVth Century now in the British Museum*, Part I (London, 1908), p. 234.

In 1902 Hecker published in the version of the second autograph the dedicatory letter, the special proems of Books II–XIII, and the whole of Books XIV and XV.[1]

Those apographs which have been examined in detail and all the complete printed editions agree with each other in text (except for scribal, typographical, and editorial variants), and do not reflect the late revision of the second autograph. They represent obviously the state of the work in 1370 or 1371, when the first apograph was made. Their version is called the "Vulgate" version, to distinguish it from the version of the second autograph.[2]

A French translation of the first thirteen books of the *Genealogia* was published at Paris in 1498, and republished, also at Paris, in 1531.[3] An Italian translation of the entire work, by Giuseppe Betussi, was published at Venice in 1547, and was republished, also at Venice, in editions of 1554, 1564, 1569, 1574, 1581, 1585, 1588, 1606, 1627, and 1644.[4]

[1] Hecker, pp. 159–299. Hecker does not print the single chapter of the general proem, nor the special proem of Book I.

[2] Hecker, pp. 96–137; Wilkins, *Modern Philology*, XVII, 428. Hecker points out in detail the differences between the two versions.

[3] Hortis, pp. 849–52. I have examined the copy of the 1498 edition in the Newberry Library.

[4] Hortis, pp. 852–65. I have examined the copy of the 1547 edition belonging to Professor J. M. Manly.

## CHAPTER II

## THE GREEK QUOTATIONS IN THE *GENEALOGIA*

Boccaccio was the first Humanist seriously to pursue the study of Greek, and the Greek quotations in the *Genealogia* are the immediate result of that study.

In the winter of 1358–59 Petrarch, who owned and dearly loved a Greek MS of Homer, though he could not read it,[1] met at Padua a certain Leonzio Pilato, probably a Calabrian, who had a considerable knowledge of Greek. Petrarch at once employed him to translate a part of his Homer into Latin. This translation seems to have comprised the first five books of the *Iliad*. It is extant only in certain fragments preserved by Petrarch as scholia in his copy of the later translation by Leonzio to which reference will presently be made.[2]

In 1360, probably in June or July, Leonzio came to Florence, in accordance with arrangements made by Boccaccio. In late August or soon thereafter Boccaccio secured a MS of Homer in the Greek. During the autumn Leonzio began the preparation of a complete Latin translation of Homer. He remained in Florence until about November, 1362.[3]

In two very interesting passages of Book XV of the *Genealogia*

[1] On Petrarch's ineffective study of Greek see F. Lo Parco, *Petrarca e Barlaam* (Reggio, 1905); P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* (rev. ed.; Paris, 1907), II, 131–34; Lo Parco, *Gli ultimi oscuri anni di Barlaam e la verità storica sullo studio del greco di Francesco Petrarca* (Naples, 1910); and G. G(entile), review of Lo Parco's second work in *La Critica*, IX (1911), 207–10.

[2] Nolhac, II, 156–57, 160, 172–74. G. Finsler, *Homer in der Neuzeit von Dante bis Goethe* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1912), p. 16, wrongly gives 1360 as the date of Leonzio's coming to Italy.

[3] Hortis, p. 21, n. 2, and pp. 503–7; Hecker, p. 272, n. 10, and p. 277, n. 4; Nolhac, II, 157–61; Hauvette, pp. 361–63; Miss Coulter, "Boccaccio's Acquaintance with Homer," *Philological Quarterly*, V (1926), 44–53; Miss J. B. Ross, a forthcoming study on "The Early History of Leontius' Translation of Homer."

Boccaccio refers at length to the circumstances of Leonzio's stay in Florence. In Chapter 6, which is devoted to the enumeration of Boccaccio's main authorities, he writes:

[P] Ost hos et leontium pylatum, thessalonicensem uirum et, ut ipse asserit, predicti barlae auditorem, persepe deduco. Qui quidem aspectu horridus homo est, turpi facie, barba prolixa, et capillitio nigro, et meditatione occupatus assidua, moribus incultus, nec satis urbanus homo, uerum, uti experientia notum fecit, literarum grecarum doctissimus, et quodam modo grecarum hystoriarum atque fabularum arciuum inexaustum, esto latinarum non satis adhuc instructus sit. Huius ego nullum uidi opus, sane quicquid exeo recito, ab eo uiua uoce referente percepi; nam eum legentem omerum et mecum singulari amicitia conuersantem fere tribus annis audiui, nec infinitis ab eo recitatis, urgente etiam alia cura animum acrior, suffecisset memoria, ni cedulis conmendassem.[1]

In Chapter 7, which is an apology for the introduction of Greek quotations in the text of the *Genealogia,* Boccaccio writes:

Nonne ego fui, qui leontium pylatum auenetijs occiduam babilonem querentem alonga peregrinatione meis flexi consilijs, et inpatria tenui, qui illum inpropriam domum suscepi et diu hospitem habui, et maximo labore meo curaui, ut inter doctores florentini studij susciperetur, ei ex publico mercede apposita? Fui equidem! Ipse insuper fui, qui primus meis sumptibus omeri libros et alios quosdam grecos in etruriam reuocaui, exqua multis ante seculis abierant non redituri? Nec in etruriam tantum, sed inpatriam deduxi. Ipse ego fui, qui primus exlatinis aleontio inpriuato yliadem audiui. Ipse insuper fui, qui, ut legerentur publice omeri libri, operatus sum. Et, esto non satis plene perceperim, percepi tamen quantum potui, nec dubium, quin, si permansisset homo ille uagus diutius penes nos, quin plenius percepissem. Sed quantulumcunque ex multis didicerim, non nullos tamen preceptoris demonstratione crebra integre intellexi, eosque, prout oportunum uisum est, huic operi miscui.[2]

These passages show that Leonzio, during all or part of his stay, held a position, secured for him by Boccaccio, as *doctor* in the University of Florence; that he gave public readings of Homer; that during all or part of the time he lived in Boccaccio's house; that throughout the stay he was closely associated with Boccaccio; and that Boccaccio

[1] Hecker, pp. 272–73.

[2] Hecker, pp. 277–78.

studied Homer with Leonzio, and got from him much mythological information.[1]

Leonzio finished his translation of Homer, presumably before he left Florence. The translation is extant in two or more MSS, and some small portions of it have been published. It is in literal Latin prose, and is very poor in quality.[2]

Boccaccio's association with Leonzio is reflected, in the *Genealogia*, not only in the introduction of mythological material for which Leonzio is cited as authority, but also in the presence of quotations in Greek. These quotations are of special interest as being the first Greek entries in a Humanistic work.

The second autograph of the *Genealogia* contains forty-six quotations in Greek verse. Thirty are from the *Iliad*, fifteen are from the *Odyssey*, and one is the well-known epigram on the seven cities which disputed the honor of being the birthplace of Homer. The passages vary in metric length from two-thirds of a line to five lines and a half. They are written (as are also Boccaccio's quotations in Latin verse) without division into lines. Beside each quotation there stands, on the margin, a Latin translation. For the quotations from Homer these marginal entries are derived from the translation of Leonzio. They are in some cases somewhat more perfect in form than the corresponding passages in that translation.[3]

I quote herewith the first two of the Greek passages quoted by Boccaccio, giving first a modern critical text,[4] then the Greek of Boccaccio's second autograph.

[1] Hortis, pp. 503–5, and Hauvette, p. 364, ridicule the mythological information given by Leonzio to Boccaccio; but Finsler, p. 16, shows that in typical instances this information was derived from Byzantine literary tradition. Boccaccio had learned a few words of Greek, in his youth, at Naples, and had made for himself copies of Greek alphabets and Greek distichs: see Hauvette, p. 363.

[2] Hortis, pp. 507–8, 543–76; Nolhac, II, 171–72; Hauvette, pp. 364–67; A. S. Cook, "*Odyssey*, Seventh Book, as Known to Petrarch," *Philological Quarterly*, IV (1925), 25–38. Hortis prints *Iliad* I and *Odyssey* I; Cook prints *Odyssey* VII.

[3] Hecker, pp. 137–56. Hecker prints the quotations in full, and studies them with detailed care.

[4] *Homeri Opera*, ed. by D. B. Monro and T. W. Allen, Oxford.

The first passage consists of *Iliad* xiv. 214–17, and is as follows:

Ἦ, καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφιν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα
ποικίλον, ἔνθά τέ οἱ θελκτήρια πάντα τέτυκτο·
ἔνθ' ἔνι μὲν φιλότης, ἐν δ' ἵμερος, ἐν δ' ὀαριστὺς
πάρφασις, ἥ τ' ἔκλεψε νόον πύκα περ φρονεόντων.

Boccaccio writes, in Book III, Chapter 22:

ἦ καὶ ἀπὸ στήθεσφῖν ἐλύσατο κεστὸν ἱμάντα ποικίλον ἔντα δὲοἰθελητήρια πάντα τέτυκτο ἐνθ'ἔνι μὲν φιλότης ἐνδ' ἵμερος ἐνδ'ο αρϊστυς παρφασϊς ἥ τ'ἔκλε ψενοον πυκαπερ φρονεόντων.

The second passage consists of *Iliad* i. 402–4, and is as follows:

ὦχ' ἑκατόγχειρον καλέσασ' ἐς μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον,
ὃν βριάρεων καλέουσι θεοί, ἄνδρες δέ τε πάντες
Αἰγαίων'—ὁ γὰρ αὖτε βίην οὗ πατρὸς ἀμείνων.

Boccaccio writes, in Book IV, Chapter 18:

ὦ χ'ἑκατόγ χειρον καλειον σοεσμακόν ὀλυμπον ὀν βριάρεων καλεούσϊ θεοὶ ἄνδρες δὲτε πάντες αἰγαίων ὄγὰρ ἂυτεὦπατρός ἀμεινων.

Boccaccio's Greek, as these samples show, is very incorrect. In two or three instances, moreover, the Latin translations fail by a line or by several words to correspond exactly to the Greek text. It is therefore clear that the modesty of the words quoted above—"Et esto non satis plene perceperim, percepi tamen quantum potui"—is only too well grounded, and that Boccaccio, despite his long study, never attained a satisfactory knowledge of Greek. In this respect too, then, as in some other phases of his literary work, he is to be honored rather for his pioneer initiative than for his actual achievement.

These quotations are, as has been stated, the first Greek entries in a Humanistic work. Boccaccio realized that in their use he first was returning to a classical precedent, and devoted an entire and very interesting chapter of the *Genealogia*, the seventh of Book XV, to the defense of his innovation. In the opening words of the chapter he expresses the expectation that envious critics will say that he has inserted the passages in Greek just in order to display his learning. His arguments of defense are these: that it is better, sometimes at least,

to quote from the original than at second hand; that in some cases his text of Homer was his only source of information; that the Greek passages afford a pleasant variety in the text; that the quotations give the reader a chance to control the accuracy of the work; and that the usage is an ancient one, followed by Cicero, Macrobius, Apuleius, Ausonius, and others. He then takes up a second expected objection: that the introduction of Greek is useless, since nobody can read it. For this he has a double answer: true scholars *ought* to read Greek; and Greek is known to the King (Hugo IV of Cyprus) to whom the *Genealogia* is dedicated. He then asserts, in a passage quoted in large part above, that his services to the cause of letters in connection with the engagement of Leonzio entitle him to whatever little display of Greek may suit his pleasure.

Greek script appears, for single words or groups of words, in at least three other passages in the second autograph. In Book VIII, Chapter 17, occurs the passage:

> dicunt alij per maricam uenerem intelligi debere, cuius fuit sacellum, iuxta maricam, in quo erat scriptum *ποντιηα φραιτη* [i.e., *ποντίη 'Αφροδίτη*]. Hec Seruius.

In Book IX, Chapter 1, occurs the passage:

> iuno grece dicitur *ηρη*, quod quidem uenit ab era [i.e., *ἔρα*], quod est terra, et fit mutatio *ε* in *η*, et fit *ηρα*, cui mutata alpha in *η* fit *ηρη*.

At the end of the Proem of Book XIV occurs the phrase "alpha et *ὠ*." In general, however, the many isolated Greek words are transcribed in Latin letters.[1]

The apographs vary in the treatment of the Greek quotations. MS 7877 of the Bibliothèque Nationale gives them in full, but shows many errors not found in the second autograph. Of the twenty other MSS examined by Hortis and Hecker in this regard, only two (Hortis 79 and 86)[2] are reported as giving the Greek quotations with notable fulness. In most of the others only a little of the Greek is transcribed.

[1] Hecker, pp. 156–57, 190.

[2] I shall in general refer thus to particular apographs, the numbers indicating the numbers of the MSS in the list in Hortis, pp. 919–23.

In some, the Greek is omitted entirely. In most MSS the Latin translations are incorporated in the text; in one at least (Hortis 86) they appear as marginal entries.[1]

The quotations fared ill in the editions of the *Genealogia*. The edition of 1472, for the first quotation, prints but two of the four lines, without division between lines or between words, thus:

ἦκαίἀποστήθεσφινὲλύσατοκὲστονἴμανταποικίλονἔνθαδὲοἰθὲλητήρια πάντὲτέτυκτο.

Then follow the words *Intellectus est iste*, which are themselves immediately followed by the Latin translation. For the second quotation the first few letters only are printed, thus: ὦχὲκατόγχ. Then follow the words *et caetera*, which are themselves immediately followed by the Latin translation. For the remaining passages, in this edition and all later editions, the Greek letters are omitted entirely, and the Latin translation stands alone in the text. For the Greek words occurring in Book VIII, Chapter 17, the edition of 1472 leaves a blank space. In the passage on the name *Hera*, Greek letters are used exactly as in the autograph. The omega in the proem of Book XIV is replaced by a capital *O*.

Most of the later editions follow in general the practice of the first edition in regard to the treatment of the Greek.[2]

Ioannes Kierherus, the editor of the sixth edition, published in Paris in 1511, reproduced the first quotation as usual, but omitted the second. He was evidently, however, an enthusiast for Greek, for he printed in Greek letters many, but by no means all, of the single Greek words or groups of Greek words which in the autograph and in the earlier editions had appeared in Latin transcription,[3] and he further altered the text, in some such places, when he did not approve of Boccaccio's use of the Greek words.[4] For the two Greek words in

[1] Hortis, p. 388, n. 1, and pp. 919–23; Hecker, p. 138.

[2] For details, see my article in *Modern Philology*, XVII (1919), 428–36.

[3] Instances occur in I, 5 and 7; II, 2; III, 4, 8, and 23; IV, 5, 10, 30, and 33; V, 25; IX, 35; X, 16; and XIII, 58.

[4] Instances occur in III, 6; and VIII, 1.

Book VIII, Chapter 17, the edition of 1494, which served Kierherus as model, had merely a blank space, but Kierherus introduced at this point the Greek words *νηοντησαφροδιτης*.

Jacobus Micyllus, the editor of the eighth edition, published at Basle in 1532, followed the edition of Kierherus as his general model. He was likewise an enthusiast for Greek: he amended the title of the work itself to read *περὶ γενεαλογίας deorum*. For the first quotation he introduced in the text the full four lines, printing them as verse. For the second and later quotations he entered no Greek in the text; but in most cases, identifying the source of the Latin translation retained in the text, he introduced the appropriate Greek passages, wholly or in part, in the notes appended to the several chapters. Oddly enough, he did not follow Kierherus consistently in the use of Greek letters for the isolated Greek words. In the cases in which Kierherus had introduced the Greek script, Micyllus sometimes retains it,[1] but oftener reverts to the Latin text of some still earlier edition, though giving the Greek script in the margin or in a note at the end of the chapter.[2] On the other hand, he introduced Greek script in some cases in which Kierherus had not done so.[3] For the two Greek words in Book VIII, Chapter 17, he follows Kierherus, except that he has *νηὸς* instead of *νηον*.[4]

In the French translation no Greek script appears. The first quo-

[1] Instances occur in I, 5 and 7; and III, 4.

[2] Instances occur in II, 2; III, 6, 8, and 23; IV, 5, 10, 30, and 33; VIII, 1; IX, 35; X, 16; and XIII, 58. In my article in *Modern Philology*, XVII (1919), 436–37, I concluded that Micyllus in preparing the text of his edition used only the edition of Paris 1511, although I recognized the fact that the Table of Rubrics in his edition was derived from some edition other than that of Paris 1511. The facts now stated with regard to Micyllus' treatment of the isolated Greek words indicate that he did use an earlier edition, as well as that of Paris, in the preparation of his text. They do not, however, invalidate the conclusion that the edition of Paris was the general model for that of Basle, or the conclusion that Micyllus did not use a MS.

[3] Instances occur in II, 8; III, 23; and X, 10, and 16.

[4] Hecker, p. 156, is therefore wrong in attributing to Micyllus the invention of this reading.

tation is prefaced by the words "Lentendement desquelles paroles grecques de homere translatees en latin et de latin enfrancois est tel." In the case of the other quotations the French translation alone appears. The isolated Greek words appear in Latin transcription.

In the first edition of the Italian translation the first two Greek quotations appear very nearly as in the Latin edition of 1472, with new errors, but without the errors characteristic of the second or later editions of the Latin text.[1] The "Intellectus est iste" of the Latin edition is rendered by "l'Espositione e questa"; then follows the Italian translation. In the case of the other quotations the Italian translation alone appears. The isolated Greek words appear in Latin transcription, except that in Book VIII, Chapter 17, a space is left, and that in Book IX, Chapter 1, Greek type is used as in the first edition.

[1] This fact indicates that Betussi worked from the text of the first Latin edition. This inference is confirmed by the fact, pointed out in my monograph, *The Trees of the "Genealogia deorum" of Boccaccio*, p. 23, that the single genealogical tree in Betussi's translation was suggested by a special rubric which appears only in the first three Latin editions.

## CHAPTER III

## THE TREES OF THE *GENEALOGIA*[1]

Before each of the first thirteen books in the second autograph of the *Genealogia* stands an elaborate genealogical tree showing the genealogy of the several divinities to be discussed in that book. Hecker describes these trees as follows:

> Zu Beginn eines jeden Buches findet sich nach des Dichters Vorschrift *quorum librorum unius cuiusque principio arborem apponendam censeo* ein sauber ausgeführter Stammbaum des zu behandelnden Geschlechts, der meist eine volle Seite, mitunter aber auch nur eine halbe einnimmt. Der Baum ist stets mit der Wurzel nach oben gezeichnet (vgl. Überschrift des II. Buches: *in celum uersa radice!*), Äste und Zweige sind ausgetuscht, die Blätter, in deren Mitte die Namen rot eingezeichnet stehen, sind in verschiedenen Farben dick umrändert.[2]

The tree for Book III is reproduced in Hecker's Plate XIX, and thence in Plate VII of the present monograph. At the top of the tree is a circle in which is written the name *Celum*, with the words *qui genuit*. From this circle descends a stem, which now expands into other lesser circles, now sends forth leaves, and now branches, which in their turn expand into circles and send forth leaves and lesser branches. In the center of each circle or leaf a name is written. The circles are used for those divinities whose progeny is represented in the same tree; the leaves for divinities whose progeny is not represented. In the circles each name is followed by the words *qui genuit* or *quae peperit*. The leaves are of a conventionalized palmately five-lobed type.

For each tree there appears a special rubric stating the scope of

[1] For a full discussion of this subject, with references, see my monograph *The Trees of the "Genealogia deorum" of Boccaccio*.

[2] Hecker, pp. 94–95.

the genealogy illustrated by that tree. These rubrics appear also in the Table of Rubrics.

Some of the apographs contain the trees, others omit them. The tree rubrics doubtless appear in the text in the apographs in general. The Table of Rubrics, containing the tree rubrics, appears in several apographs.

The first three editions of the *Genealogia* lack the trees. Only the first tree rubric appears in the text, and that in a modified form beginning "Hic secundum exemplar deberet esse arbor signata." The Table of Rubrics, however, containing the tree rubrics, appears in these and in all the later editions of the *Genealogia*, except that of Paris, 1511.

In the fourth edition, that of Venice, 1494, the trees are finally achieved. They correspond in general to those of the second autograph, with two major differences: each initial circle contains, in place of a name, a portrait of the divinity in question; and in most of the trees the leaves are replaced by scrolls. Two of the trees have extra leaves or scrolls, that is to say, leaves or scrolls to which no divinity corresponds. Tree VIII has three extra leaves, without inscription; Tree X has two extra scrolls, each with the inscription *Vacat.* Over each of the thirteen trees is placed a hexameter indicating the contents of the Book in question. These hexameters are taken from the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro, which will be discussed in the following chapter. No tree rubrics appear in the text in this or in any later edition.

Trees imitated directly or indirectly from those of the edition of 1494 appear in the next three editions. In the last edition, that of Basle, 1532, eight of the trees are printed from blocks used for the edition of Paris, 1511. The other five trees are of a new and simpler type, in which leaves and scrolls disappear, and circles are used for all entries.

No trees appear in the Compendium printed at Cologne, nor in the two editions of the French translation.

A tree for Book I appears in the first two editions of the Italian translation, but not in later editions. This tree is drawn as an actual

tree, with the name of the primal divinity appearing at the base of the trunk.

Boccaccio's trees are, so far as I can ascertain, the earliest secular genealogical trees properly so called: that is to say, the first non-biblical genealogical charts in which stems, branches, and leaves appear. They constitute also the first elaborate set of genealogical charts. Their antecedents are the *arbor iuris* of medieval law, the circle-and-line genealogical charts found in historical and biblical MSS, and the Jesse-trees found in biblical MSS and elsewhere.[1]

[1] The portion of my monograph on the trees which deals with their antecedents is reprinted under the title "The Genealogy of the Genealogical Trees of the *Genealogia deorum*," *Modern Philology*, XXIII (1925), 61–65.

## CHAPTER IV

## THE TABLES AND INDEXES OF THE *GENEALOGIA*[1]

Boccaccio himself made for the *Genealogia* a full Table of Rubrics; Domenico di Silvestro wrote a series of hexameters on the *Genealogia* which constitute in effect a versified Table of Contents; and within thirty years after Boccaccio's death three Alphabetical Indexes to the *Genealogia* were composed, one by Domenico Bandini, one by Matteo d'Orgiano, and one by an unknown author. These indexes, as will presently appear, are among the earliest alphabetical indexes of which we have record; and for the most elaborate and most important of the three, that of Domenico Bandini, the Chicago MS, as will appear below, in Chapter XVII, is the most authoritative of all MSS.

A Table of Rubrics appears in the second autograph of the *Genealogia*.[2] Hortis mentions seven apographs as having a Table of Rubrics.[3] Doubtless most of the apographs have such a table. A Table of Rubrics appears before the text in the first edition of the *Genealogia*. It consists simply of the ordered series of the incipits and explicits of the several books, the titles of the several chapters, and the rubrics for the thirteen genealogical trees. The fact that it contains the tree rubrics, which, as has been stated in the preceding chapter, do not appear in the text of the first edition, shows that the Table was derived from an apograph, and not made up from the text as printed. The same Table of Rubrics appears in all later editions except that of Paris, which has no such table.

Domenico di Silvestro was a Florentine notary, active in the period

[1] Some of the material in this chapter is reprinted from my study "Early Alphabetical Indexes," *The Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 315–22.

[2] Hecker, p. 94.

[3] Pp. 227, 919–23, Nos. 68, 72, 76, 77. See also the inconclusive statements under Nos. 80 and 83.

1364–1407. He was a writer of Latin verse and a friend of Coluccio Salutati.[1] His *Versus* on the *Genealogia* appear in at least one of the apographs hitherto known (Hortis 65).[2] They appear also in a MS, now in the Laurentian Library (LXXXX Inf. 13), which contains poems by Domenico and others. In this MS the heading of the *Versus* and the first two lines are as follows:

Infrascriptos XVI. versus fecit ser Dominicus Silvestri. Primus continet intentionem, ad quid inventi fuerint. Aliorum quilibet breviter continet, quid contineat quilibet liber Domini Iohannis Boccaccii, quem scripsit de Genealogia Deorum Gentilium. Penultimos vero versus, decimum nempe septimum, et octavum addidit ser Coluccius Cancellarius Florentinus omnium scientiarum doctissimus:

Quae narrat ter quinque libris Boccaccius, audi.
Primus habet stirpem Demomorgonis aethere dempto.

The next fourteen lines summarize respectively the contents of Books II–XV of the *Genealogia*. Then follow the two lines:

Hoc ter quinque libris epigramma Dominicus addit,
Quem genuit ripis Florentia fluminis Arni.

The *Versus* are printed in full below, in Chapter XVI, in the reading of the Chicago MS; and in that chapter there will be presented evidence afforded by the Chicago MS as to the accuracy of the statement in the Laurentian MS that the last two lines were composed by Coluccio,[4] who, as will appear below, was the first owner of the Chicago MS.

In the first edition of the *Genealogia* the first seventeen of these hexameters stand just after the Alphabetical Index. There is no indi-

[1] L. Mehus, in Ambrosius Traversarius, *Epistolae*, II (Florence, 1759), cccxxvi-cccxxxi; and F. Novati, in Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario* (Rome, 1891–1911), I, 42, 239, 321–24; II, 11, 132; IV, 169, 391. Novati planned to write a monograph on Domenico di Silvestro (see I, viii), but did not live to carry out his plan.

[2] See G. Mazzatinti, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, VIII (Forlì, 1898), 24–25. Hortis makes no statement as to the presence of the *Versus* in the apographs.

[3] Mehus, II, cccxxx. *Demomorgonis* is an error for *Demogorgonis*.

[4] This statement is accepted by Hortis, pp. 770–71, 777, 779–81.

cation that the seventeenth line is by an author other than Domenico. They reappear similarly in each of the next five editions.

The printer of the edition of 1494, the first edition of the *Genealogia* to contain the genealogical trees, placed over each of the trees, as has been stated in the preceding chapter, that one of the *Versus* of Domenico which refers to the book in question. This usage of the *Versus* was retained in all later editions of the *Genealogia*.[1]

In the edition of Paris, 1511, the *Versus* are omitted from their traditional place after the Alphabetical Index. This omission must have been deliberate. The edition of Paris is a page-for-page copy of the edition of 1494, and the leaf of the 1494 edition which bears the *Versus* must have been complete in the copy used by the Paris printer, since the material on the verso of that leaf is completely represented. The omission was perhaps due to a feeling that since most of the lines appeared earlier in the edition as superscriptions for the trees a repetition at this point would be undesirable. In the edition of 1532, derived from that of Paris, the *Versus* appear only as inscriptions over the trees.

The *Versus* appear also in the Compendium of the *Genealogia* printed at Cologne.[2]

The first apograph of the *Genealogia* was made late in 1370 or early in 1371, as has been stated above, in Chapter I. It is therefore possible that the *Versus* were composed as early as 1371. They are contained, as has already been indicated, in the Chicago MS, for which, as will be shown below, in Chapter XVIII, the latest possible date is 1405, and the latest probable date is 1395.[3] It is then certain that the *Versus* were composed within the period 1371–1405, and probable that they were composed within the period 1371–95.

Domenico Bandini, the author of the most notable of the Alpha-

[1] The reading of the lines placed above the trees varies somewhat from the reading of the lines as printed in consecutive form. The variants are noted below, p. 65, n. 2.

[2] Hortis, p. 770.

[3] The two MSS mentioned above as containing the *Versus* are both of the fifteenth century.

betical Indexes of the *Genealogia*, was, like Domenico di Silvestro, a friend of Coluccio Salutati, at whose request, indeed, as will presently appear, he compiled his Index.

Bandini was born at Arezzo about 1340. Early in 1374 he went to Bologna, and there taught rhetoric. From Bologna, before the middle of July, he journeyed to Arquà to visit Petrarch. On June 20, 1376, he was called to Florence to teach Latin: whether or not he accepted we do not know. There are extant eight letters written by Coluccio to Bandini. The first is dated July 14, 1377; the second, November 11, 1377; the third, August 4, 1378 (the other five date from the years 1400–1403). On these dates, therefore, Bandini was not in Florence. In 1378 and in the period 1380–82 he taught in Bologna. In 1382 he came to Florence, and there he taught until 1399 or 1400. He then retired to Arezzo, where he lived on at least to the age of seventy-eight years.[1]

His main work was a huge encyclopedia called *Fons memorabilium universi*, which is extant in at least three MSS. The work is divided into five parts, and each part into several books. Many of the books are in effect special dictionaries, alphabetically arranged. Part V, Book I, entitled *De viris claris virtute aut vitio*, contains a laudatory biography of Coluccio Salutati, and Coluccio is referred to with praise in two other passages of the *Fons*. The composition of the *Fons* was begun in 1374 or earlier, and lasted into Bandini's old age. We do not know the date of its completion.[2] The composition of the biography of Coluccio contained in the *Fons* is assigned by Novati, on good, though not conclusive, evidence, to the period 1388–90.[3]

The close friendship of Bandini and Coluccio Salutati is further

[1] Mehus, II, cxxix–cxxxix; Novati, *passim:* see his Index, *s.v.* "Bandino"; A.F. Massèra, "Le più antiche biografie del Boccaccio," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXVII (1903), 320–23. Novati planned to write a monograph on Bandini (see I, viii), but did not live to carry out his plan.

[2] Mehus, pp. cxxxii–cxxxv; Novati, IV, 501–8, and *passim* in all volumes (see Novati's index, *s.v.* "Bandini"); Massèra, p. 322. Novati, IV, 501–8, prints the three passages which refer to Coluccio.

[3] Novati, IV, 501–2.

attested by the eight letters from Coluccio to Bandini, and by the fact that Coluccio dedicated, or intended to dedicate, to Bandini his elaborate treatise on the Labors of Hercules.

The first of the eight letters, written on July 14, 1377, and the second, written on November 11 in the same year, request Bandini to abstain, in his letters, from praising Coluccio; the third, written on August 4, 1378, deals with the riots of the Ciompi; the fourth and fifth, written on June 27 and August 4, 1400, tell of the pestilence then rife; the sixth, written on July 21, 1403, is a study of the classic names of Città di Castello; and the last two, written on November 11 and December 19, 1403, discuss Dante's conception of nobility.[1]

Coluccio's treatise on the Labors of Hercules, which is extant in at least two MSS, is a philosophic mythological work in four books, of which the first treats the nature of poetry, the second the youth of Hercules, the third his Labors, and the fourth, which is incomplete, Hell and descents thereto. Coluccio began the compilation of this treatise at least as early as 1391, and was engaged upon it as late as 1405. The MSS show no dedication, but the statement of Bandini that the work was to be dedicated to him certainly reflects an intention expressed by Coluccio.[2]

The Alphabetical Index of Bandini appears in at least four of the apographs hitherto known (Hortis 61, 65, 69, and 83), and in all of the first seven editions of the complete Latin text of the *Genealogia*.[3] It contains about 1,960 entries, nearly all of which are for persons or places. The alphabetization is correct through the second letter of each entry; usually, though not always, through the third; and often

[1] Novati, I, 260, 276, 289; III, 396, 405, 622, 644, 648.

[2] Novati, IV, 76; also I, 165; III, 66, 311, 380; IV, 253, 492, 500, 503, 507, 512.

[3] Hortis, pp. 223–24, 929. Hortis, p. 224, refers to the Index in his No. 61 as a compendium of the Index by Bandini; but a comparison of the entries printed by Hortis, pp. 224–25, with the entries of the Index in the Chicago MS, as printed below, pp. 67–68, will suffice to indicate that the Index in No. 61 contains all the entries of the original form of the Index. Abbreviation occurs only in the wording of certain entries.

through later letters. The entries for *Ab-* and *Ac-* are printed in full below, in Chapter XVII, in the reading of the Chicago MS; and details are there given as to the variations of the Index in MSS and editions.

In two of the apographs hitherto known to contain the Index (Hortis 65 and 69) it is preceded by the following preface:

Memoria thesaurus delitiarum in homine, quo nil maius Divum pater atque hominum rex tribuere potuit immortalium animabus, rerum multitudini ac temporum successioni succumbit, nisi sibi capax omnium scriptura succurrerat longum duratura per evum. Nec scriptura ipsa presto est, nec super quesita venit, nisi certo regatur ordine magna industria conquisito, docente Boetio, primo *de Consolatione:* quod certum desinit ordinem letos non habet exitus. Nec mirum, quia si mihi cetera percurrenti efficax est iudicium, universi celi machina, cuncta elementorum series, et quecunque ab his profluunt, certo ordine reguntur et conservantur. Hac igitur norma excitus ego Dominicus de Aretio presens opus pro mea multorumque utilitate confeci, reducens sub ordine alfabetico quecunque sunt in universo volumine *Geneologiarum gentilium deorum* a Johanne Boccatij vate celeberrimo ex multis ac pene infinitis antiquorum et modernorum testimoniis compilato. Quod quidem sic semper est utile ac semper memorie commendandum, ita sui prolixitate infinitarumque rerum structure, ac sepius inauditarum memorie obviabit, quamobrem ratus sum ut huius adminiculo mee tabule illius concreta moles ac prolixitas regeretur, nec michi gravis, fastidiosus iste labor est, susceptus spe alia, hortante, monente, cogente, ac me repellente verius Colutio Pierio. Cuius scientiarum abissus, ingenium ac mores digni sunt, ut maria terrasque regant. Sed de ipso dicetur pluries et uberies, loco et tempore decentiori, et in eo *Fonte memorabilium universi.* Nunc autem ille mea vota fecundet deus, qui solus implere potest voluntates creaturarum omnium.[1]

In the third of the apographs hitherto known to contain the Index (Hortis 83) it has the following explicit:

Explicit Tabula per alphabetum super libris genealogie deorum gentilium compositis per clarissimum virum Johannem boccacium de Certaldo civem florentinum edita per egregium trivii doctorem Magistrum dominicum de Aretio, et nunc florentinum civem etc.[2]

[1] Hortis, pp. 223–24.

[2] Hortis, p. 922.

In the first edition of the *Genealogia*, the Index appears with the following preface, which reappears without substantial change in the next six editions:

(Q) Via istud opus genealogiae deorum gentilium est adeo prolixum: ut Rubricae ad unum ut supra patet in principio locum reducte etiam per se uolumen uideantur efficere. Ideo uolenti alicuius historiam seu fabulam inuenire etiam in rubricis est ualde difficile: nisi quasi omnes legantur. Idcirco ut quesitor possit quod querit reperire facilius super ipsa tabula rubricarum per alphabetum est infrascripta alia tabula ordinata: quae sicut ipse rubricae sunt totius operis repertorium: ita aeque erit ista repertorium rubricarum: quanquam etiam posset ad totum opus referri per quam tabulam per alphabetum compositam: littera a qua incipit nomen eius: cuius historia queri contigerit perscrutata: in quo libro nomen et hystoria sic poterit faciliter reperiri: quo tam faciliter reperto se ad rubricarum tabulam referendo cito inuenietur quod queritur. Quod quidem opus assumpsi ad instantiam insignis viri. Colutii pieri Cancellarii florentini. Ego dominicus de aretio grammaticae atque rhetoricae doctor atque professor deo dante sic incipiam ut infra sequitur.[1]

Both prefaces state, it will be noticed, that the Index was compiled at the request of Coluccio Salutati. The statement in the first preface: "Sed de ipso dicetur pluries et uberies, loco et tempore decentiori, et in eo *Fonte memorabilium universi*," shows that the Index was compiled before the completion of the *Fons*, and indicates strongly, though it does not prove, that it was compiled before Bandini wrote the biography of Coluccio which is contained in the *Fons*.

Since the first apograph of the *Genealogia* was made late in 1370 or early in 1371, the earliest possible date for Bandini's Index is 1371. And since the Index is contained in the Chicago MS, which was written not later than 1405, as will be shown in Chapter XVIII, the latest possible date for the Index is 1405.[2] It is highly probable that Bandini and Coluccio first came into relationship in 1376. Coluccio came to Florence in 1374, and became chancellor in 1375.[3] Bandini, as has been said, was

[1] Ed. of 1472, f. 259v.

[2] Of the four apographs hitherto known to contain the Index, one (Hortis 61) was written in or before 1406, and another (Hortis 65) at some time in the fifteenth century. I have no means of ascertaining the date of the other two.

[3] Novati, IV, 387.

called to Florence on June 20, 1376. He was certainly acquainted with Coluccio before July 14 of the following year, when Coluccio wrote to him. It is highly probable, as has been shown, that the Index was made before Bandini wrote the biography of Coluccio which appears in the *Fons*, and that that biography was written within the period 1388–90. It is then highly probable that the Index was compiled within the period July 1376–90.

Matteo d'Orgiano, the author of one of the other Alphabetical Indexes of the *Genealogia*, was chancellor of the Este in the latter part of the fourteenth century. His Index appears in at least five MSS (Hortis 64, 69, 71, 72, and 80). The alphabetization is correct only through the first letter, the order of entries under each letter being the order of textual occurrence. This Index must have been compiled within the period 1378–87.[1]

The third Index, by an unknown compiler, appears in at least four MSS (Hortis 76, 77, 81, and 85). The alphabetization is correct through the second letter. This Index must have been compiled within the period 1371–1400.

These three indexes as a group, and in particular the Index of Bandini, as the most notable of the three, are of special interest as being among the earliest alphabetical indexes of which we have record. The only alphabetical index, so far as I have been able to ascertain, which is certainly earlier than these, is an index of the *De consolatione philosophiae* of Boethius, made in 1332.

It is highly probable that the Index of Bandini is a more elaborate work than any earlier alphabetical index. It was printed, as has been said, in the first edition of the *Genealogia*, and thence in the next six editions. It is very probably the earliest alphabetical index which attained the honor of print.

Micyllus, the editor of the eighth and last edition of the Latin text of the *Genealogia*, made for that edition an index of his own,

[1] For a full discussion, with references, of the Index by Matteo d'Orgiano and of the matters referred to in the next two paragraphs, see the study referred to in n. 1 to p. 18.

strictly alphabetical, and more comprehensive than that of Bandini. It contains about 4,000 entries, and includes entries for topics as well as for persons and places.

The Compendium printed at Cologne contains an index which, according to Hortis, "non è quella di Domenico Aretino, ma si avvicina all'altra di Matteo d'Orgiano."[1]

No index appears in the two editions of the French translation. A brief index of proper names appears in the first edition of the Italian translation and in all subsequent editions of that translation.[2]

[1] Hortis, p. 770.

[2] Hortis, pp. 849–65.

## CHAPTER V

## THE CONTENTS OF THE CHICAGO MANUSCRIPT

The contents of the Chicago MS of the *Genealogia* are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| *f.* 1: | blank |
| *ff.* 2r–9v: | the Table of Rubrics |
| *f.* 10: | blank |
| *ff.* 11r–185r col.1: | the *Genealogia* |
| *f.* 185r col.2: | the *Versus* by Domenico di Silvestro |
| *ff.* 185v–217v: | the Alphabetical Index by Domenico Bandini |
| *f.* 218: | blank |

The general proem of the *Genealogia* occupies ff. 11r–13v. Each of the first thirteen books is illustrated by a genealogical tree. The locations of the trees, incipits, and explicits of the several books are as follows:

| Book | Tree | Incipit | Explicit |
|---|---|---|---|
| I | f. 14r | f. 11r | f. 27r |
| II | f. 27v | f. 27v | f. 38v |
| III | f. 39r | f. 39r | f. 48r |
| IV | f. 48v | f. 48v | f. 66r |
| V | f. 66r | f. 66v | f. 78v |
| VI | f. 79r | f. 79v | f. 88v |
| VII | f. 89r | f. 89v | f. 99r |
| VIII | f. 99r | f. 99v | f. 105v |
| IX | f. 106r | f. 106v | f. 117r |
| X | f. 117r | f. 117v | f. 127r |
| XI | f. 127r | f. 127v | f. 137v |
| XII | f. 137v | f. 138r | f. 149r |
| XIII | f. 149v | f. 150r | f. 159r |
| XIV | | f. 159r | f. 176v |
| XV | | f. 176v | f. 185r |

## CHAPTER VI

## THE MAKING OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The material of the MS is vellum of excellent quality.

The leaves are now 30 cm. tall and 22 cm. broad. They were originally both taller and broader, but were reduced by a trimming which will be discussed below, in Chapter XX.

The MS consists of a guard-leaf and 22 quires. The first quire consists of nine leaves; the 20 central quires consist of ten leaves each; the last quire consists of eight leaves.

The first quire was designed to contain the Table of Rubrics. The second quire was to receive on the recto of its first leaf the beginning of the text of the *Genealogia.*

In the formation of the first quire, the outermost sheet was laid with the flesh-side out; then next to the verso of the first leaf was placed a separate half-sheet, its hair-side facing the hair-side of the first leaf; next was placed a second complete sheet, flesh-side out; then a third, hair-side out; then a fourth, flesh-side out. As a result of this peculiar construction, the verso of the eighth leaf of the quire is a flesh-side page, while the recto of the ninth leaf of the quire is a hair-side page—an irregular facing. The Table of Rubrics ends on the first of these two pages; the second is blank.

The guard-leaf was sewn with the first quire. It was placed with its hair-side out, and its flesh-side facing the flesh-side of the first leaf of the first quire. A stub of the guard leaf, about 5 mm. wide, and running from top to bottom of the page, projected between the first quire and the second, and was glued to the first page of the second. The ruling of the guard-leaf, discussed in the following chapter, is such as to show that this leaf was originally intended for use in some other MS.

In the formation of each of the 20 central quires, the outermost

sheet of the vellum was laid with the flesh-side outward, so that the flesh-side forms the recto of the first leaf and the verso of the last leaf of the quire. The other sheets were then laid in accordance with the regular practice of alternation: the second and fourth with the hair-side out, the third and fifth with the flesh-side out. Through the body of the book, therefore, flesh-sides face flesh-sides and hair-sides face hair-sides. Each of the central quires bears a scribal catchword in the center of the lower margin of its last verso.

In the last quire the first and second leaves are each separate half-sheets, the first placed with its flesh-side as recto, the second with its hair-side as recto. The remaining leaves constitute a normal six-leaf quire, so arranged that the system of alternate facings is regularly continued.

## CHAPTER VII

## THE RULING

All the leaves of the several quires, except the last leaf of the first quire and the last leaf of the last quire, which are blank, were carefully ruled, with a lead point. The ruling was done in general on both sides of the vellum. It is still visible on every written page of the MS, though in some cases it is now very faint, and in some cases only a small portion of it can be distinguished (see Plate V).

The ruling provided for two columns of text, separated by a blank space. Upon each page four vertical lines were drawn, nearly or quite from the top to the bottom of the page. The distance between the first two lines (counting from the left) is from 5.8 to 5.9 cm.; the distance between the second and the third lines is from 1.7 to 1.8 cm.; the distance between the third and fourth lines is from 5.8 to 5.9 cm.

In the first quire, designed to receive the Table of Rubrics, many lines of the writing were to be indented. As guide-lines for this indentation two secondary vertical lines were added, from 3 to 4 mm. to the right of the first and third main vertical lines.

Upon each page in the portions of the MS intended for the Table of Rubrics and for the text of the *Genealogia*, ff. 2r–9v and 11r–185r, 48 horizontal lines were drawn, terminating at or projecting a little beyond the first and fourth vertical lines, and continuing across the space between the second and third vertical lines. The distance between the highest and lowest horizontal lines is from 20 to 20.3 cm. The intervening lines are spaced, so far as the eye can judge, with perfect evenness.

Upon each page in the portion of the MS intended for the Alphabetical Index, ff. 185v–217r, 47 horizontal lines were drawn, the highest extending across the full length of the page, the others terminating and continuing like the horizontal lines on the earlier pages. The dis-

tance between the highest and lowest horizontal lines is from 20.3 to 20.8 cm. The intervening lines are evenly spaced.

The recto of f. 185 was ruled with the 48 lines, the verso with the 47 lines.

The guard-leaf is also ruled, but in a different way. Each side bears 57 horizontal lines, extending nearly across the page, the highest about 5 cm. from the top of the page, the lowest at about the very bottom of the page. There are no vertical rulings. It would seem therefore that this leaf was originally intended for use in some other MS.

## CHAPTER VIII

## THE WORK OF THE SCRIBE

The entire MS was written by a single scribe. Throughout the Table of Rubrics and the text of the *Genealogia* the scribal work is remarkably uniform in all respects. In the *Versus* the writing is smaller; but this is clearly due to the endeavor to get each hexameter within the width of the ruled column. In the Alphabetical Index the system of ruling is different, and the writing is a little larger, particularly toward the end; but the several letters do not vary at all from the corresponding letters in the text of the *Genealogia,* and the tiny guide-initials left plentifully throughout the Index, for the direction of the illuminator, correspond exactly to the guide-initials visible here and there in the text of the *Genealogia.*

The scribe followed the ruling with great exactness. In the Table of Rubrics and the text of the *Genealogia* he treated the topmost ruled line as an upper limit for his topmost line of writing, so that there are on each full page 47 lines of writing as against 48 ruled lines. In the Index he disregarded the topmost ruled line drawn all the way across the page, and treated the second ruled line as an upper limit for his topmost line of writing, so that there are on each full page 45 lines of writing as against 47 ruled lines.

The scribe used a black ink of excellent quality, which now varies in shade from a blackish to a yellowish brown. In a few places the ink of a few letters has flaked off.

The handwriting is very beautiful (see Plates I, II, IV, V, VIII–X, XII, and XIII). The letters are formed clearly and with decision. The *c* and the *t* are often indistinguishable; but with this exception, there is no question as to what letter is intended. Scribal abbreviations of the usual types are freely employed. The division between words is generally made with much care, and is sometimes marked by

a light stroke of the pen. The dot is the only sign used in punctuation.

The copying was very accurate. The excellence and the errors of the text are discussed below, in Chapter XV.

The scribe omitted the important initial letters, leaving in their stead small guide-initials for the direction of the illuminator. In the Table of Rubrics the scribe thus omitted the initial of the first entry for each of the fifteen books, the initial of the entry for the second division of the general proem, and the initials of the entries consisting of the rubrics for the genealogical trees. In the text of the *Genealogia* he omitted the initial of each book and chapter, and in many instances the initials of certain sentences within chapters. He omitted the first letter of the first of the *Versus*, and the initial of each entry in the Alphabetical Index. In the Index he left guides for the first entry under each new letter, and for most, but not all, of the other entries.

In the portion of the MS preceding the Index the guide-initials were so located, in nearly every case, as to be covered by the work of the illuminator. The guides for the first initials of Books II, IV, VII, VIII (see Plate X), XI, XIII, and XV were not covered, however, and the guides for the initials of certain sentences within chapters are usually visible through the open-work illumination. In the Index the scribe placed the guides so far to the left of the column of writing that few if any of them were covered by the illuminator (see Plate XIII).

The scribe used small capitals for the first letter following each of the omitted initials; for the initial of each new sentence (in case the initial was not omitted); for the initial of each entry in the Table of Rubrics (in case the initial was not omitted); for the initials of many, but not all, proper names; and for the initials of all the *Versus* except the first. These small capitals were in general touched with dabs of yellow.[1]

[1] That the touching with yellow was done rather by the scribe than by the illuminator I infer from the fact that in the second autograph of the *Genealogia* the small capitals are similarly touched with yellow, while no illuminated initials have been entered: see Hecker, p. 94.

In six cases, in the text of the *Genealogia*, the scribe supplied upon the margin of the page words or parts of words omitted by him in the writing of the text. In each case a caret of the general type ⁄ stands at the proper point in the text, and again before the addition in the margin. The pages in question are ff. 47v, 70r, 74v, 80v (see Plate IX), 100v, and 138v.

In the Alphabetical Index there are several cases of such omission and marginal addition. In five instances the scribe omitted and supplied entire articles—those beginning *Augustini*, *Biblis fons*, *Branchiodes*, *Hanibalis*, and *Helenus pater eoli*. Carets, of varying character, are used for the three articles which are entered in the lower margin, and guiding lines are used for the two articles which are entered in the side margin. Furthermore, the article *Caribdis* was supplied in the margin by a hand which is probably, though not certainly, that of the scribe; and the first article *Discordia* was supplied in the margin by a hand which is possibly that of the scribe, but is probably not.

Minor marginal additions in the hand of the scribe, with carets or equivalent marks, appear on ff. 190v, 198v, 200r, 202r, 205r, and (three cases) 217r. Minor marginal additions which are possibly in the hand of the scribe, but are probably not, appear on ff. 186v, 189v, 194v, 203v, and 206v.

On f. 201r, in the article *Lacedemon*, the scribe by error wrote *achillis* in the text. He placed canceling dots beneath the word, and wrote the correct *athalas* in the margin.

In the Table of Rubrics the scribe entered lightly a sign of the type //, as a direction to the illuminator to insert a paragraph sign, just before the entry for the general proem and just before the entries for the proems of Books II, III, IV, VII, VIII, X, and XII. Probably he left similar signs elsewhere in the Table of Rubrics, but if so they were completely covered by the work of the illuminator. Similar signs are partly visible here and there in the text of the *Genealogia*, as for instance on ff. 81r and 82r.

On the lower margin of the last verso of each quire (except the first and last quires) the scribe wrote a quire signature (see Plate IX).

Each of these signatures is a single short line of writing, carefully placed within the narrow column formed by the two central vertical lines of ruling; and consists of as much of the text immediately subsequent to that written in the second column above as could be contained in the narrow space allotted to it.

In the top of each recto in the portion of the MS devoted to the text of the *Genealogia* the scribe wrote a small Arabic guide-numeral, for the direction of the illuminator, corresponding to the number of the book contained in part upon the page in question (see Plate XII).

On f. 217v, a little below the end of the writing in the second column, the scribe wrote the words *Deo gracias, Amen.*

The scribe used red ink of excellent quality for the rubrics, for the word *idest* after some of the Greek quotations, and for the chapter numbering.

The rubrics of the Table of Rubrics itself consist of a general incipit and explicit for the Table, and incipits and explicits for each of the series of rubrics of the several books (see Plate I).

The rubrics of the *Genealogia* itself consist of incipits and explicits for the several books (the incipit for the first book stands before the general proem), the rubrics for the genealogical trees, and the chapter headings (see Plates II, V, IX, X, and XII).

The scribe omitted three initial letters in the rubrics: the *R* of *Rubrice libri primi* in the Table of Rubrics; and, in the text of the *Genealogia*, the initial *I* of the tree rubrics for Books VI and VII.

On f. 41r and again on f. 112r the scribe omitted part of a word in a chapter heading, and supplied it on the margin, in red ink, with carets.

Within the rubrics the scribe in several cases entered in red ink a sign of the type //, as a direction to the illuminator to insert a paragraph sign. The first case occurs in the Table of Rubrics, just after the words *Rubrice libri secundi.* Other cases occur in the text of the *Genealogia* just before the tree rubrics for Books II, III, IV, IX, X, XII and XIII, and before the second half of the tree rubric for Book III. Presumably similar signs were left before the tree rubrics for Books V,

VIII, and XI; but if so they were completely covered by the work of the illuminator.

Each of the forty-five Greek quotations (discussed below, in Chapter XV) is followed by the word *idest* and a Latin translation. In thirty-eight cases the word *idest* is written in red ink; in the other seven cases (the first two, on ff. 46r and 54v, the fourth and fifth, on ff. 77r, and the cases occurring on ff. 111v, 115v, and 119r) it is written in black ink.

The chapter numbering was done in red ink of a darker shade. The numbering usually projects into the space to the right of the column (see Plates V and IX). These facts indicate that the numbering was done at a somewhat later time than the rubrics. I see no reason, however, to think that it was done by a different scribe. In the heading of the first chapter of the first book the words *Capitulum primum* are written out in full. Thereafter the *capitulum* usually appears as *cap.*$^{m}$ or *ca.*$^{m}$ or *c.*$^{m}$, and the numerals as Arabic or Roman figures with a superior *m*.

In addition to doing the work described in this chapter, the scribe did some parts of the genealogical trees described in the following chapter.

There is no evidence as to the identity of the scribe.

The headings of the *Versus* and of the Alphabetical Index were done in red paint by the illuminator. Neither the poem nor the Index has an explicit, or contains rubrics.

## CHAPTER IX

## THE RED AND BLUE INITIALS

Two types of illumination appear in the Chicago MS: an extensive illumination in red and blue, described in this chapter; and an elaborate illumination, described in the following chapter, applied only to fifteen initials of primary importance (those of the general proem and of Books II–XV).

The initials of secondary importance are the initial of the second part of the general proem (f. 13r), the initial of the special proem of Book I (f. 14r), the initials of the several chapters of the *Genealogia*, the initials of the concluding portions of the last chapters of Books I (f. 27r) and III (f. 48r), the initial of the first of the *Versus*, and the initials of the first entries under each of the several letters in the Alphabetical Index. These initials are done either in blue with decoration and flourishes in red, or in red with decorations and flourishes in blue (see Plates V, IX, X, XII, and XIII). In general the colors alternate; but in nine cases a blue initial follows a blue initial (III, 22 and 23; IV, 3 and 4; IV, 68 and V, 1; IX, 41 and X, 1; X, 63 and XI, 1; XIII, 1 and 2; XIV, 18 and 19; the initial of the first of the *Versus* and the first *A* of the Index; the *I* and *L* of the Index); and in two cases a red initial follows a red initial (VI, 72 and VII, 1; XI, 4 and 5).

These initials are very beautiful in design. The illuminator had a standard form for each letter of the alphabet, but varied it freely, on repetition, in details of the decoration and flourishes. Within each open letter is a decorative open-work filling design; and around each letter is a decorative design of lines and beads, from which flourishes project both upward and downward. If the initial is the only one in its column, the flourishes extend upward and downward along the whole edge of the column, and often project into the upper and lower margins. If there are two or more initials in the same column, the

flourishes of each stop at or near the point of meeting with the flourishes of the next. The curves of the flourishes are in general very graceful.

In two instances, discussed below, in Chapter XV, the illuminator painted an incorrect chapter initial.

In Books I, II, III, V, and VIII, the last chapter has a concluding section which states the relation of the following book to the one just ended. In Books II, V, and VIII the initials of these sections are small, like those of the chapter subdivisions discussed below. In Books I and III, however, the initials are large, like the chapter initials just discussed.

In the Table of Rubrics the first entry for each of the several books is the incipit. The initials of these fifteen incipits (the *G* of *Genealogie* for the first thirteen books, the *I* of *Incipit* for the last two) were given by the illuminator a treatment intermediate between that of the chapter initials discussed above and that of the section initials next to be discussed (see Plate I). They are alternately blue with decoration in red, and red with decoration in blue, except that the initials for Books VII and VIII are both blue. These letters are smaller than those of the chapter initials, and their decoration is much less elaborate. The flourishes extend in general about $2\frac{1}{2}$ cm. above and about 5 cm. below the letter. The red initial *I* of the entry consisting of the rubric for the first genealogical tree is similar in size and character to these initials, but has no flourishes (see Plate I).

The scribe had left vacant the initial spaces of certain sentences within chapters. These spaces the illuminator filled with red or blue initials, smaller still, each with a slight decoration in the opposite color (see Plates V, IX, and X). The alternation of colors within the chapters containing these initials is in general regular. A blue initial of the same type was supplied by the illuminator in the initial space left vacant by the scribe in the rubric for the genealogical tree of Book VI. In the Table of Rubrics initials of this same type appear for the *R* of the heading *Rubrice libri primi,* for the heading of the second part of the general proem, and for the entries consisting of the rubrics for

the trees of Books II–XIII (see Plate I). In the entry for the tree of Book X, however, the illuminator entered a paragraph sign instead of the requisite initial (*I*).

In the Alphabetical Index the several entries (except the first entry for each letter) received initials similar to those just discussed except that the decoration in the opposite color is omitted (see Plate XIII). Within each alphabetical division the alternation of red and blue initials is in general regular. In one instance, discussed below, in Chapter XVII, the illuminator painted an incorrect initial.

Before each entry in the Table of Rubrics (except those which received special initials, as already noted) the illuminator placed a paragraph sign of the type ¶ (see Plate I). These signs are in general alternately red and blue. He omitted the sign, however, before the entry *Prohemium* immediately after the first incipit; inserted it between the words *secundi* and *genealogie* in the heading of the series of entries for Book II; and inserted it wrongly, instead of an initial *I*, as has been noted, in the entry for the tree of Book X.

In the *Genealogia* itself, in the headings of Books II–V and VII–XIII, similar paragraph signs in blue were placed between the incipits and the tree rubrics (see Plate X). In Book III a second sign was placed before the second part of the tree rubric. In Books VI and VII the scribe had omitted the initial *I* of these inscriptions, as has been noted above. In the first case the illuminator entered the proper initial without the paragraph sign; in the second case he entered a paragraph sign instead of the initial. Similar signs appear here and there in the text of the *Genealogia*, as for instance on ff. 81r and 82r.

The illuminator entered in red paint the heading of the *Versus*, printed below, in Chapter XVI, and the heading of the Alphabetical Index, printed below, in Chapter XVII (see Plates XII and XIII). The handwriting in these headings is quite different from that of the scribe.

It is probable, as will be shown at the end of the following chapter, that the red and blue illumination and the foliated initials to be discussed in the following chapter were not done by the same man.

# CHAPTER X

## THE FOLIATED INITIALS[1]

The first page of the general proem is elaborately illuminated (see Plate II). The initial, *S*, occupies the whole width of the first column. The letter itself consists of a curved band of orange-red, shaded, and decorated with a row of beading in the same color and with white tendril tracery. The reverse of the band, visible at the center of the initial, is green. Along the inner edge of the upper left portion of the band there appears a narrow strip of yellow, and a similar strip closes the lower left opening of the *S*. To the right of these yellow strips are small portions of a blue field.

The central portion of the initial is filled with the figure, crossed by the middle curve of the *S*, of a man writing at a desk. He wears an orange-red tunic, a gray gown, a gray hood faced with yellow, and an orange-red shoe. He holds a pen in his right hand, and a knife, apparently, in his left. This figure was in all probability intended to represent Boccaccio, though it is possible that it was intended simply to represent a scribe. It is discussed in the following chapter.

Around the initial proper there appears a raised framework of burnished gold. Its outer lines form approximately a square, but the exact lines are broken by decorative curved projections. The edges of the gold-leaf are outlined in black. The gold-leaf is in excellent condition, though stained at one point by a running of color.

From the initial proper springs decorative foliage, which curves between the sections of the gold-leaf framework, extends into all four margins of the page and into the central space between the two columns, and incloses a coat-of-arms at the foot of the page. This leafage

[1] A considerable portion of the material in this chapter is reprinted from my article "Foliated Initials by Don Simone of Siena," *Art in America*, VIII (1919), 21–27.

is conventional in design and is diversified by the insertion of conventionalized flowers and groups of stamens, and by the introduction of a conventionalized blue heron in the central space. A motive consisting of three small wavy armlike projections moving from a center appears within the decoration in the right half of the lower margin. The leaves are themselves decorated by shading, by lines or dots of another color, or by white tracery. Gold-leaf and eight colors are used for this leafage: orange-red, pale violet-red, dark purple-red, pale grayish purple, blue, green, yellow, and fluid gold. The groups of stamens are variously colored.

The coat-of-arms at the foot of the page shows a device in fluid gold upon a field of blue. The outlying parts of the device and much of the blue field are lost, the field remaining chiefly white. In the center of the shield there remains a winged claw, which held originally a fleur-de-lis, the shape of which is still impressed in the white field. To the left of the claw are visible some of the points of what was evidently an eight-pointed star. The shapes of three similar stars are impressed in the white field—to the right above, and to the left and right below. The bearings are then, in heraldic terms: azure, an eagle's leg conjoined at the thigh to a sinister wing and holding a fleur-de-lis, between four estoiles of eight points, all or. These arms, as will be shown below in Chapter XIX, are those of Coluccio Salutati.

Around the coat-of-arms is a frame whose outline is that of a diamond from each side of which springs a semicircular projection. The edge of the frame is done in pale grayish purple, and is exactly paralleled by an inner edge of yellow. Within this edge is a field of dark purple-red, which bears an elaborate tracery in orange-red with dots of green.

Fourteen other initials, those of Books II–XV, receive elaborate illumination (see Plate X).[1] The initial of Book II occupies the whole width of the column in which it stands; the other initials occupy about four-fifths of the width of the column, the scribe having

[1] The initial of Book XV is reproduced in the plate illustrating the article referred to in the preceding note.

utilized the right-hand fifth of the column for the writing of the text. The several initials representing the same letters (*E*, Books II and XI; *F*, Books IV and XV; *M*, Books IX and X; *O*, Books VIII and XIV; and *S*, Books III and XII) differ from each other in design and coloring.

The letters proper, in the several initials, consist in general of curved bands of color, shaded, and decorated with a row of beading and with tendril tracery in white. These bands are part blue and part orange-red (Book II), orange-red (Books III, V, VII), blue (Books VI, IX, XIII), or pale violet-red (Books IV, VIII, X, XI, XII, XIV, XV). In the initial *F* of Book IV, however, the top stroke of the *F* is formed by a blue animal head with a grotesquely prolonged and knotted neck; and in the initial *F* of Book XV the back and top of the letter are formed by a grotesque blue serpent, a pale violet-red band appearing for the lower cross-stroke. The motive of a knot or knots in the band occurs in the initials of Books II, IV, and IX. Along the inner edge of these bands of color there appears in every case a narrow strip of yellow.

Within the yellow strip is a field of black decorated with white tendril tracery; and within this field is a decoration of conventional leafage. The leaves are themselves decorated by shading, or by white tracery. The motive of three small wavy armlike projections moving from a center, done in fluid gold within a circle of fluid gold, appears at the center of the decoration in Books IV and VI. The colors used for this leafage are the same orange-red, blue, and pale violet-red used for the letters proper, together with green, pale grayish purple, yellow, and fluid gold. In most cases either four or five of these several colors are used; in Book VI all seven are used; in Books XII and XIV but three are used.

Around the initial proper there appears, in each case, a raised framework of burnished gold-leaf, its outer lines forming approximately a square, but with decorative curved projections mingling with projecting foliage. The edges of the gold-leaf are outlined in black. The gold-leaf as a whole is in excellent condition; but in a few

instances small bits of it have peeled off, showing traces of an albuminous mordant beneath.

From the band of color constituting the letter proper there springs in each case decorative foliage, which curves between the sections of the gold-leaf framework, and extends into the marginal space or spaces adjacent to the column in which the letter stands. This leafage is conventional in design, and is diversified in some cases by the insertion of conventionalized flowers and groups of stamens. It is further diversified on the first page of Book III by the addition of two large hawkweed flowers in natural color. The leaves are themselves decorated, in general, by shading, or by lines or dots of another color, or by white tracery. The colors used in this leafage are the same seven used for the leafage within the initials, with the occasional addition of a little gold-leaf. The groups of stamens are done in green.

The foliated initials thus described are closely similar in design to those of six Florentine MSS of religious music, as represented in Plates XVII and XX–XXIV of d'Ancona's *La miniatura fiorentina:* an antiphonary now in the Laurentian Library, and four antiphonaries and a gradual now in S. Croce.[1] The character and arrangement of the foliage are the same; the same bands, beadings, tracery, conventionalized flowers and groups of stamens appear; the relation of the initial proper to the square gold-leaf casing is the same. The initial *F* of d'Ancona's Plate XVII consists of a grotesque serpent very similar to the grotesque serpent of the *F* of Book XV in the Chicago MS. The same plate shows a hawkweed flower like those of Book III in the Chicago MS. The motive of three small wavy armlike projections moving from a center appears in d'Ancona's Plates XXI and XXIV.

The foliated initials in the MSS represented by d'Ancona's Plates XVII and XXI were done by Don Simone of Siena, a Camaldulensian monk; and those in the other four MSS were done under his direction or his influence.[2]

In view of the close correspondence of the foliated initials of the

[1] P. d'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina* (*Secoli XI–XVI*) (Florence, 1914), Vol. I.

[2] D'Ancona, "Indice delle tavole," p. 2; I, 13–15; II, Nos. 56, 256–60.

Chicago MS to those of d'Ancona's Plates XVII and XXI, and in view of the excellent quality of the work in the Chicago MS, it seems highly probable that the foliated initials of the Chicago MS were done by Don Simone himself.

Very little is known of Don Simone. A miniature in the MS from which d'Ancona's Plate XXI is taken is signed OP. FEC. DON̄ SIMO ORDĪS CAMALDN̄. Besides the six MSS already mentioned, d'Ancona lists and discusses four others illuminated wholly or in part by Don Simone: three other antiphonaries now in the Laurentian Library, and a collection of Laudi now in the Biblioteca Nazionale.[1] One of these antiphonaries bears the following interesting inscription:

> Iste liber est Monasterii sancti Pancratii de Florentia ordinis Vallisumbrose: quem gratis scripsit et notavit dominus Simon sermonis de Florentia monachus dicti monasterii. Et ad pennam miniavit eum Paulus Soldini de Florentia. Sed cum pennello miniavit eum dominus Simon de Senis monachus ordinis camaldulensis. Et fuit expletus anno ab incarnatione Domini MCCCLXXXI de mense septembris Deo gratias. Amen.[2]

In 1387 Don Simone illuminated a missal of the church of S. Miniato al Monte. He may or may not be identical with the Don Simone who in 1426 illuminated an antiphonary for the church of S. Lucia de' Magnoli.[3]

The illumination of the foliated initials was subsequent to the red and blue illumination discussed in the preceding chapter; for the projecting foliage in two cases (Books II and XIII) obliterates flourishes springing from chapter initials.

In view of the fact, revealed by the inscription just quoted, that in one MS in which Don Simone did the illumination *cum pennello* the illumination *ad pennam* was done by another man, and in view of the fact that the style of the red and blue illumination in the Chicago MS is quite different from that of the foliated initials, it is probable that that red and blue illumination was not done by Don Simone.

[1] D'Ancona, II, Nos. 53–55, 108.

[2] D'Ancona, I, 13–15; II, No. 55. The expression *ad pennam miniavit* refers to the making of the minor red and blue initials.

[3] D'Ancona, I, 14, n. 2.

# CHAPTER XI

## THE PORTRAIT OF BOCCACCIO

The introduction of a scribal figure in the first elaborate initial of a MS is not uncommon.[1] The introduction of a figure intended to represent the author became common in Florence in the fourteenth century. This latter practice is described by d'Ancona in the following interesting passage:

> Insieme nasce l'uso di introdurre piccole figure allegoriche o piccoli ritratti nel campo della iniziale al principio del testo: questi ultimi rappresentano generalmente a mezzo busto l'autore o il traduttore dell'opera, in abito dottorale, con un volume tra le mani, qualche volta il capo inghirlandato di alloro. È raro però che il miniatore per queste raffigurazioni di personaggi antichi o a lui contemporanei tragga, a seconda dei casi, ispirazione dal vero o ricorra a qualche vecchio e celebrato modello, o almeno si elevi un poco da una immagine che ha del mediocre e del convenzionale. Bisogna giungere al Quattrocento per trovare qualche ricerca di simil genere: per ora Vegezio e Cicerone potrebbero benissimo scambiarsi di posto senza alcun inconveniente di verisimiglianza. Lo stesso può dirsi di ser Brunetto e di Coluccio Salutati; di S. Agostino e di S. Bonaventura; di S. Gregorio e di Bartolommeo da San Concordio, per tacere di altri men celebrati. Una certa ricerca di colorito locale nella rappresentazione del personaggio effigiato si ha forse soltanto nella figura di Boezio, che vedesi quasi sempre dietro alla grata del carcere, qualche volta occupato al lavoro, altre volte le mani legate, il volto triste e meditabondo.[2]

In view of this statement, it seems probable that the figure, described in the preceding chapter, which appears in the initial of the general proem in the Chicago MS was intended to represent Boccaccio. The figure has then a special interest as being probably one of the ear-

[1] J. H. Middleton, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Classical and Mediaeval Times* (Cambridge, 1892), p. 252.

[2] I, 10.

liest extant representations of Boccaccio; but it has not a documentary portrait value. The head shows no trace of an attempt at individualization, and does not resemble the heads in the early portraits which have been reproduced.

There are extant, so far as has hitherto been known, but three representations of Boccaccio dating from the fourteenth century, each of them a pen drawing in a MS.[1]

One is a colored drawing in a MS of the *Buccolicum carmen* of Boccaccio (Laur. XXXIV, 49), written in 1379. This drawing is reproduced on the cover and as the frontispiece of each of the three pamphlets containing the lectures on Boccaccio given in 1913 in the *Lectura Dantis* series,[2] and again, on a larger scale, as frontispiece in the recent edition of the *Buccolicum carmen*.[3] This portrait is described at length by d'Ancona.[4]

A second drawing, not colored, appears in a MS of the *Filostrato* (Bib. Naz. II, ii, 38) written in 1397. It is reproduced in the German and Italian versions of Wiese and Pèrcopo's History of Italian Literature.[5]

The third drawing (in MS Ricc. 991), has not, to my knowledge, been reproduced.

A portrait of Boccaccio painted in 1365 existed in S. Iacopo at Certaldo in the sixteenth century; and two sixteenth-century reproductions of this portrait are extant: first, a marble bust now in the same church, reproduced as the frontispiece of recent editions of Boc-

[1] See Boccaccio, *Le lettere edite e inedite* (ed. by F. Corazzini, Florence, 1877), pp. lxxxvii–lxxxviii.

[2] G. Arcoleo, *Giovanni Boccaccio: l'uomo e l'artista;* V. Crescini, *"Fiammetta" di Giovanni Boccaccio;* O. Bacci, *Il Boccaccio lettore di Dante;* all published by Sansoni, Florence.

[3] Ed. by G. Lidònnici, Città di Castello, 1914 (*Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari*, Nos. 131–35).

[4] II, 40.

[5] B. Wiese and E. Pèrcopo, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 148; *Storia della letteratura italiana* (Turin, 1904), p. 173.

caccio's *Rime*[1] and of the *Decameron*;[2] and second, the print on f. 4v of the edition of the *Decameron* published by the Giunti in 1573.[3]

An early fresco in S. Michele at Padua has been mentioned as containing a portrait head of Boccaccio; but it is now believed that this head and others in the same fresco formerly thought to represent Dante and Petrarch are in reality intended to represent members of the family of the Buoi, who founded the chapel containing the fresco in question.[4]

[1] *La caccia di Diana e le rime*, ed. by A. F. Massèra, Città di Castello, 1914; reprinted, Turin, 1919.

[2] Ed. by M. Scherillo, Milan, 1914.

[3] See *Annotazioni e discorsi sopra alcuni luoghi del Decameron di M. Giovanni Boccacci fatte da' Deputati alla correzione del medesimo* (Florence, 1857), pp. 19–20, and Corazzini, pp. lxxxviii–lxxxix.

[4] Corazzini, p. xcii; P. Selvatico, *Guida di Padova* (Padua, 1892), pp. 195–96; A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, V (Milan, 1907), 981, 997.

# CHAPTER XII

## THE TREES

Before each of the first thirteen books of the *Genealogia* there stands an elaborate genealogical tree (see the frontispiece, and Plates VI and XI).[1]

Each of these trees springs from a double-lined circle at the top of the page or portion of a page reserved for the tree. Within the circle is written, in red ink, the name of the divinity whose progeny is to be discussed in the following book. The name is followed by the words *qui genuit* or *quae peperit.* From this initial circle descends a stem which now expands into other lesser circles containing names in red ink; now sends forth colored leaves containing names written in black ink in an uncolored central space; and now sends forth branches, which in their turn expand into circles and send forth leaves and lesser branches. The circles are used for those divinities whose progeny is represented in the same tree; the leaves for divinities whose progeny is not represented. In the circles each name is followed by the words *qui genuit* or *quae peperit.* Stems, branches, and leaves are colored in such a way as to differentiate the several generations; the stem or branch proceeding from a single circle remains of a given color in all its ramifications until it reaches another circle or other circles; and all leaves representing children of the same parent are of the same color.

The leaves are conventionalized. They vary in shape from tree to tree. Those of the first tree are ovate; those of the second, broadly ovate; those of the third, palmately five-lobed; the fourth, cordate ovate; the fifth, rotund ovate; the sixth, palmately three-lobed with

[1] On the trees in the second autograph, the other apographs, and the editions, see above, pp. 15–17. All the trees of the Chicago MS are reproduced (Trees III, IX, and XII in color) in my monograph *The Trees of the "Genealogia deorum" of Boccaccio.* Some of the material in the present chapter is reprinted from this monograph.

rounded lobes; the seventh, rotund ovate; the eighth, palmately three-lobed with lateral lobes reflexed at tip; the ninth, broadly ovate tridentate; the tenth, palmately five-lobed; the eleventh, palmately five-lobed with rounded lobes; the twelfth, palmately three-lobed; the thirteenth, ovate.[1]

The range of color is very great indeed. Reds, yellows, and greens prevail. The colors are quite different from those used in the foliated initials discussed above, in Chapter X.

The trees vary in the amount of space occupied, from that for Book III, which occupies but little more than half a page, to those for Books VI, VII, IX, and XIII, which occupy entire pages. The most elaborate tree of all is that for Book VII, which contains 24 circles and 96 leaves.

Four of the trees have extra leaves, each of which bears, instead of a name, the word *vacat.* Of these extra leaves Tree VII has one, Tree VIII four (see the frontispiece), Tree X one, and Tree XIII four (see Plate XI).

In Tree VI the scribe failed to insert the names in the circles designed for Carpentus Sylvius, Tyberinus Sylvius, and Procas Sylvius.

From a comparison of the tree for Book III in the Chicago MS with the Tree for Book III in the second autograph as reproduced by Hecker (see Plates VI and VII), it appears that the Chicago MS followed its model very closely in tree design. The leaves are in each case palmately five-lobed.

The ruling was in general carefully erased from the pages or portions of pages upon which the trees were to be drawn. In every case, however, one of the vertical edges of the main stem follows one of the central vertical ruled lines.

The making of the trees was subsequent to the writing of the rubrics and to the entry of the red and blue initials.

That it was subsequent to the writing of the rubrics appears most

[1] Professor J. M. Coulter of the University of Chicago has had the kindness to look at the trees with me and to give me the appropriate characterization for the leaves of each.

obviously in the cases of Trees II and IV, which curve about the rubrics on the same pages in such a way as to show that the maker of the trees was dealing with a space already partly occupied.

That the making of the trees was subsequent to the entry of the red and blue initials appears most obviously in the case of Tree XII. In this case the lower portion of an elaborate red flourish in the center of the page projected downward into the space needed for the tree, and was therefore erased. The flourish now terminates abruptly, and the erasure is visible. In the case of Tree XI, similarly, careful examination indicates that a blue flourish at the left of the page projected downward and was erased.

In Tree XI pressure for space led the maker of the trees to encroach on space already utilized by the scribe and the maker of the red and blue initials. One of the top leaves is carefully painted around certain letters of a word in a rubric; and part of the next leaf is painted thinly over part of a red flourish, which, however, shows clearly through the paint.

The names in circles and leaves are written in a hand which seems to me to be that of the scribe who wrote the text. The coloring was done by a painter who may or may not have been identical with the scribe, or with the illuminator whose work has been discussed in Chapter IX.

It may be noted that in the second autograph the trees appear, whereas the decorative initials are not filled in.[1]

[1] Hecker, p. 94.

## CHAPTER XIII

## THE MARGINAL BOOK NUMERATION

In the top margin of f. 11r an illuminator entered a red *L* (for *Liber*) and a blue numeral *I*, with a red dot on either side of the numeral (see Plate II). On all the versos of the portion of the MS devoted to the text of the *Genealogia* he entered a red *L* (see Plates IX–XI); and upon all the remaining rectos of the same portion of the MS, following an Arabic guide-numeral left by the scribe, he entered a Roman numeral corresponding to the number of the book in question (see Plates V, VI, and XII). If the numeral consists of a single letter it is in blue, and is flanked by red dots. If it consists of two or four letters, the first dot is red, the first letter, and the third letter if there is one, blue, the second letter, and the fourth if there is one, red, and the final dot blue. If the numeral consists of three or five letters, the dots are both red, the odd letters blue, and the even letters red. The crossbars are sometimes blue, sometimes red, in irregular succession.

Errors were made in a few cases. On f. 23r the numeral ·*I*· was done in red instead of blue. On f. 34r the elements of the numeral ·*II*· appear in the order blue red blue red. On f. 36r the illuminator entered the numeral ·*XII*·, the colors being in the order red blue red blue red, instead of the numeral ·*II*·. The *X* was erased by an early hand. On f. 54r the elements of the numeral ·*IIII*· appear in the order blue red blue red blue red.

On f. 38r there now stands a red dot followed by an erasure, then by a red *I* and a blue dot. Following this a later hand has made in pale ink a brief illegible notation. Evidently an element wrong in some respect stood originally before the *I* which now remains.

This numbering must have been done after the initials and the genealogical trees were completed; for some of the numbers cover por-

tions of initial flourishes, and others are entered to the left or right of the center when the center is occupied by initial flourishes or by foliage.

# CHAPTER XIV

## THE TABLE OF RUBRICS

The Table of Rubrics (see Plate I) consists simply of the ordered series of the incipits and explicits of the several books, the titles of the several chapters, and the rubrics for the thirteen genealogical trees.[1]

The rubrics of the Table of Rubrics itself are as follows:[2]

f. 2r: Tabula rubricarum librorum genealogie deorum gentilium incipit feliciter. Rubrice libri primi.

*ibid:* Genealogie deorum gentilium liber primus explicit. Rubrice libri secundi genealogie deorum.

ff. 2r–9v: [Similar explicits and headings for the series of entries for the other books.]

f. 9v: Genealogie deorum gentilium secundum Johannem boccacium de certaldo ad illustrem principem. Ugonem yerusalem et cypri regem. liber quintus decimus et ultimus explicit librorum.

*ibid:* Expliciunt Rubrice quindecim de genealogijs deorum gentilium deo gracias Amen.

These rubrics do not appear in the Table of Rubrics as printed in the first and thence in the later editions.

The Table of Rubrics contains entries for the two chapters which the scribe omitted in writing the text of the *Genealogia*, as has been stated above, in Chapter VIII. It is then evident that the Table of Rubrics was copied into the Chicago MS from another MS, and not made up from the text of the Chicago MS.

[1] On the Table of Rubrics in the second autograph, the other apographs, and the editions, see above, p. 18.

[2] In my quotations from the MS I resolve without special notation the scribal abbreviations. They offer no difficulty and no interest.

# CHAPTER XV

## THE TEXT OF THE *GENEALOGIA*

The text of the *Genealogia* in the Chicago MS proves, upon examination, to be the Vulgate text, derived from the lost autograph from which, as has been stated above, in Chapter I, the first apograph was made.[1]

The Chicago text is excellent in quality. I transcribe, in evidence, the portion of the general proem contained on f. 11r, the chapter on the nature of poetry, and the rubrics for the genealogical trees.

The portion of the general proem contained on f. 11r (see Plate II) is as follows:[2]

Genealogie[3] deorum gentilium ad vgonem[4] inclitum yerusalem[5] et cipri[6] regem secundum Johannem boccacium de certaldo liber primus incipit feliciter. Prohemium.

Si satis ex relatis domini[7] Parmensis egregij militis tui uera percepi Rex inclite summopere cupis genealogiam[8] deorum gentilium et heroum ex eis iuxta fictiones ueterum descendentium atque cum hac quid sub fabularum tegmine illustres quondam senserint uiri. et me a celsitudine tua quasi expertissimum atque eruditissimum hominem in talibus selectum tanto operi auctorem. Sane ut omiserim desiderij tui admirationem. non enim paruum hominem decet quid regem moueat perscrutari.[9] et aduersus electionem mei quid sentiam dicere pretermictam. nedum insufficientiam meam monstrauero persubterfugia arbitreris impositi laboris honus[10] euitem. Antequam ad sententiam meam circa impositum opus deueniam. libet serenissime regum apponere et si non omnia quedam saltem que inter domninum insignem militem tuum. dum iussa tue celsitudinis explicaret. et me interuenere uerba ut eis perlectis satis deme iudicium tuum uideas et temeritatem meam dum in obedientiam tue maiestatis deuenio. Cum igitur ille facundo ore sacra tue sublimitatis

[1] See above, pp. 4–6.

[2] I give in footnotes the variant readings of the second autograph, from Hecker, pp. 162–64, disregarding differences in capitalization, punctuation, and the division of words, but including orthographic variants.

[3] Genologie. [4] Ugonem. [5] ierusalem. [6] Cypri. [7] domnini. [8] genologiam. [9] perscruptari. [10] onus.

studia et opera regalis offitij admiranda necnon et insignes atque gloriosos quosdam tui nominis titulos longa dicacitate explicuisset eo deuenit ut conatu plurimo me intuam sententiam deducere conaretur.[1] nec unica tantum ratione sed multis ex quibus fateor ualide uidebantur quedam. verum[2] postquam tacuit et michi respondendi copia facta est. sic dixi. Arbitratus[3] forsam[4] facunde miles seu rex tuus deproximo noster futurus prestante deo hanc insaniam ueterum scilicet cupientium se haberi diuino procreatos sanguine angulum terre modicum occupasse et tanquam ridiculum quoddam ut erat paruo seruasse[5] temporis tractu et ueluti etiam recentissimum opus facile colligi posse. Attamen bona semper tua pace dicam longe aliter est. Nam ut omitam[6] cicladas et reliquas egei maris insulas achaiam[7] et ylliricam[8] atque tratiam quas penes fomenta huius stultitie emicuere plurimum et potissime dum grecorum res publica floruit. Eleuxini maris hellespontiaci meonij. ycarei. pamphilij.[9] Cilicij. phenicis. et syri atque egyptiaci litora sua contagione infecit. Nec cyprus nostri regis insigne decus ab hac labe fuit inmunis. sic et omnem lybie atque syrtium[10] et numidie oram labefactauit. et athlantiacos occiduique maris[11] sinus. et remotissimos hesperidum ortos. nec mediterranei tantum maris fuit contenta litoribus. quin imo et ad incognitas maris[12] nationes etiam penetrauit. decidere etiam[13] inpernitiem hanc cum litoralibus accole omnes nyli fonte carentis et arene[14] lybice una cum suis pestibus et antiquissimarum thebarum solitudines. nec non et superiores egiptij[15] atque garamantes feruidi et calentes nimium irsutique ethyopes. et odori arabes. perseque dites atque gangarides populi et nigredine insignes yndi. babilones et celsa caucasi cacumina eiusque tam in feruidum solem quam in gelidas arthos scabrosa decliua.[16] caspium mare hyrcanique truces et omnis tanais ac niuosus semper ihedepes[17] et scitharum etiam inculta barbaries. Et cum orientalis occeani fluctus et rubri maris infecisset insulas. postremo adnos usque ytalos declinauit adeo ut roma rerum domina huius caliginis [18]offuscata nube sit.[18] et ne passim per regiones omnes in quibus plurimum hec inscitia potuit euager. ut satis potes aduertere portiuncula sola fuit orbis inter triones et cadentem solem que deitatis huiusmodi non fuit nobilitata progenie. esto nephande credulitatis sicuti et reliqua[19] fuerint[20] infecta. Nec isto euo fuere nostro.

Chapter 7 of Book XIV is as follows (f. 100r–v):[21]

Quid sit poesis unde dicta et quod eius offitium. c $^{m}7^{m}$[22]

POesis enim quam negligentes abiciunt et ignari est feruor quidam ex-

[1] niteretur. [2] Uerum. [3] Arbitraris. [4] forsan. [5] perseuerasse. [6] omittam. [7] achayam. [8] ylliricum. [9] Pamphylij. [10] syrthium. [11] occeani. [12] mari. [13] enim. [14] harene. [15] egyptij. [16] decliuia. [17] rhodopes. [18] obfuscata sit nube. [19] relique. [20] fuerit.

[21] I give the variant readings of the second autograph, as before, from Hecker, pp. 209–11. [22] There is no chapter numbering in the second autograph.

quisitus[1] inueniendi atque dicendi seu scribendi quod inueneris. Qui ex sinu dei procedens paucis mentibus ut arbitror in creatione conceditur. ex quo quoniam mirabilis sit rarissimi semper fuere poete. Huius enim feruoris sunt sublimes effectus ut puta mentem in desiderium dicendi compellere peregrinas et inauditas inuentiones excogitare meditatas ordine certo componere ornare compositum inusitato quodam uerborum atque sententiarum contextu uelamento fabuloso atque decenti ueritatem contegere. Preterea si exquirat inuentio reges armare inbella deducere enaualibus classes emittere celum terras et equora describere uirgines sertis et floribus insignire Actus hominum pro qualitatibus designare irritare torpentes desides animare. themerarios[2] retrahere sontes uincire. et egregios meritis extollere laudibus et huiusmodi plura. Siquis autem ex his quibus hic infunditur feruor hec minus plene fecerit iudicio meo laudabilis poeta non erit. Insuper quantumcunque urgeat animos quibus infusus est perraro impulsus conmendabile perficit aliquid si instrumenta quibus meditata perfici consueuere defecerint ut puta gramatice[3] precepta atque rethorice[4] quorum plena notitia oportuna est esto non nulli mirabiliter materno sermone iam scripserint. et per singula poesis officia peregerint hinc et liberalium aliarum artium et moralium atque naturalium saltem nouisse principia necesse est nec non et uocabulorum ualere copia uidisse monimenta maiorum ac etiam meminisse et hystorias nationum et regionum orbis marium fluuiorum et montium dispositiones. Preterea delectabiles nature artificio solitudines oportune sunt. sic et tranquilitas[5] animi et secularis glorie appetitus et persepe plurimum profuit etatis ardor. nam si deficiant hec non nunquam circa excogitata torpescit ingenium. Et quoniam ex feruore hoc ingeniorum uires acuente atque illustrante nil nisi artificiatum procedit. ars ut plurimum uocitata poesis est. Cuius quidem poesis nomen non inde exortum est. unde plurimi minus aduertenter existimant scilicet A poio pois quod idem sonat quod fingo fingis. Quin imo a poetes uetustissimum grecorum uocabulum latine sonans exquisita loquutio[6]. Nam primi qui hoc inflati spiritu exquisite rudi adhuc seculo cepere loqui ut puta carmine tunc omnino loquendi genus incognitum ut sonorum auribus audientium etiam uideretur illud pensatis moderauere temporibus. Et ne delectationem nimia breuitate subtraheret aut longitudine plurima luxurians tedium uideretur inferre certis mensuratum regulis atque intra[7] diffiinitum pedum et sillabarum numerum coercuere.[8] Sane quid[9] exhoc tam accurato dicendi ordine prosilibat non dicebatur poesis amplius sed poema. Et sic ut iam diximus tam arti quam artificioso[10] ab effectu nomen consequutum[11] est. Inquient forsan isti obiurgatores perlucidi. et si dixerim scientiam hanc ex dei sinu recentibus adhuc ani-

[1] exquisite. [2] temerarios. [3] grammatice. [4] recthorice. [5] tranquillitas. [6] locutio. [7] infra. [8] cohercuere. [9] quod. [10] artificiato. [11] consecutum.

mabus infundi se nolle uerbis meis satis prestare fidei. quibus satis roboris equis animis que uidemus assidue poterant prestitisse. sed adhuc egemus testibus. Si ergo legerint quid tulius[1] cicero homo philosophus[2] non poeta dixerit ea in oratione quam apud senatum habuit pro aulo licinio archia,[3] in fidem faciliores deuenient. dicit enim sic atque sic a summis hominibus eruditissimisque accepimus. Ceterarum rerum studia et doctrina et preceptis et arte constare poetam natura ipsa ualere et mentis uiribus excitari et quasi diuino quodam spiritu inflari etc. Ergo ne orationem longius protraham satis apparere potest pijs hominibus poesim facultate[4] esse et ex dei gremio originem ducere et ab effectu nomen assumere. et ad eam insignia atque fausta multa spectare quibus ipsi met negantes utuntur assidue. Si querant ubi uel quando [5]in prontu[5] est fateantur ipsi quo duce cuius opere fictiones suas ipsi componant dum scalas gradibus distinctas in celum erigunt. Dum proceras arbores ramorum facundas[6] eque ad astra producunt. Dum montes in excelsum usque circumitionibus ambiunt. Dicent forsan ut huic a se incognite detrahant quo utuntur rethorice[7] opus esse quod ego pro parte non inficiar. habet enim suas inuentiones rethorica.[8] Uerum apud tegumenta[9] fictionum nulle sunt rethorice[10] partes. mera poesis est. quic quid sub uelamento componimus[11] et exquiritur[12] exquisite.

The rubrics for the genealogical trees are as follows:[13]

I (f. 14r): In arbore designata[14] desuper ponitur in culmine demogorgon uersa in celum radice nec solum infra descripte progeniei sed deorum omnium gentilium pater. et in ramis et frondibus ab eo descendentibus describuntur eius filii et nepotes de quibus omnibus hoc in primo libro prout signati sunt distincte describitur.[15] Verum ex eis ether solus excipitur. de quo et eius amplissima posteritate in libris sequentibus describetur. Fuerunt ergo demogorgoni filij filieque nouem. Quorum primus. litigium. secundus. pan. tercia. cloto. quarta lachesis. quinta Attropos. sextus polus seu pollux. septimus phyton seu phaneta. octaua terra. Nonus autem herebus.

II (f. 27v): In arbore autem signata desuper in celum uersa radice ponitur in culmine Ether filius herebi et noctis. eius[16] in ramis et frondibus cum etheri duo tantum fuerunt[17] filij. Iuppiter scilicet primus. et celius seu celum iouis primi.[18] solum prosapia designatur omnis celij seu celi prole in sequenti reseruata uolumine.

[1] tullius. [2] phylosophus. [3] archya. [4] facultatem. [5] impromptu. [6] fecundas. [7] recthorice. [8] recthorica. [9] integumenta. [10] recthorice. [11] componitur. [12] exponitur.

[13] On these rubrics, which do not appear in the text of the printed editions, see above, pp. 15–16.

[14] Probably an error for *signata*. [15] Probably an error for *scribitur*. [16] Probably an error for *eiusque*. [17] Probably an error for *fuerint*. [18] This punctuating sign should have been placed after *celum*.

III (f. 39r): In arbore autem signata desuper ponitur in radice Celius etheris et diei filius. et in eis[1] ramis et frondibus pars sue posteritatis ostenditur. Fuerunt enim celio filij. xi[2] Quorum prima fuit opis. ij$^{a}$. Thetis magna. iij$^{a}$. Ceres prima iiij$^{us}$. vulcanus primus. v. mercurius tercius. vi$^{a}$. venus magna. vij$^{a}$. venus secunda. viij$^{us}$. Toxius. viiii$^{us}$ Titanus. x$^{us}$. Iuppiter.[3] xi$^{us}$. occeanus. xii$^{us}$. saturnus. ¶ Ex istis duodecim reseruantur quatuor. de quibus nulla in presenti libro tercio mentio fiet. scilicet tytanus de quo scribetur in quarto. et Iuppiter secundus de quo et eius prole scribetur in quinto et sexto. et occeanus de quo scribetur in septimo et saturnus de quo et eius omni posteritate fiet mentio in octauo. et reliquis huius operis libris.

IV (f. 48v): In arbore autem signata desuper ponitur in radice celius. eo quod nondum filij eius descripti sunt. sed in ea tam in ramis quam in frondibus omnis tytanis progenies demonstratur.

V (f. 66v): In arbore signata desuper ponitur in radice celius eo quod pater fuerit iouis secundi cuius proles etsi non omnis nam dardanus in librum alium hunc sequentem reseruatur in hac arbore tam in ramis quam in frondibus describitur.

VI (f. 79v): In arbore precedenti cuius in radice ponitur dardanus sextus decimus filius iouis secundi. omnis eiusdem dardani proles describitur tam in ramis quam in frondibus.

VII (f. 89v): [I] n precedenti arbore cuius in radice scribitur occeanus. omnis eiusdem occeani tam in ramis quam in frondibus posteritas ordinate apponitur. De quo in sequenti septimo libro dicitur.

VIII (f. 99v: see Plate X): In arbore autem precedenti cuius in radice saturnus celi filius ponitur. describitur tam in ramis quam in frondibus pars posteritatis eiusdem saturni cum reliqua omnis in sex[4] sequentibus describatur libris sub iunone et neptunno atque ioue filijs eius.

IX (f. 106v): In precedenti arbore cuius in radice Iuno est. describitur tam in ramis quam in frondibus omnis eiusdem Iunonis tantum posteritas.

X (f. 117v): In precedenti arbore cuius in radice consistit neptunnus describitur in ramis et frondibus omnis eiusdem neptunni successio.

XI (f. 127v): In arbore precedenti cuius in radice scribitur Juppiter ponitur tam in ramis quam in frondibus pars posteritatis eiusdem iouis cum in sequentibus duobus libris residuum describatur.

XII (f. 138r): In arbore precedenti cuius in radice positus est Juppiter tercius describuntur in ramis et frondibus posteritates octo filiorum iouis predicti. scilicet Tantali. Dyonisii. Persei. Aonis. Eaci. Pilumni. Mercurij. et Vulcani.

[1] An error for *eius*. [2] An error for *.xij*. [3] Probably the word *secundus* was omitted here. [4] An error for *quinque*.

XIII (f. 150r): In arbore precedenti cuius in radice describitur Juppiter tercius ponuntur tam in ramis quam in frondibus posteritates herculis et eoli filiorum dicti Iouis tercij.

Of the forty-six Greek quotations which appear in the autograph,[1] all but one appear in full in the Chicago MS. The one lacking, No. 32 in the series as given by Hecker, is lacking also in the Paris MS 7877. It is therefore probable that it did not appear in the first autograph. After the quotations in the Chicago MS there stands in each case the word *idest*, followed by the Latin translation of the passage.

The Greek quotations are written with very great care (see Plates VIII and IX). The letters are formed with decision, and vary but little in their several occurrences. They are peculiar in form, but are readily legible after one has come to recognize the individual signs. It is evident, however, that the scribe did not know Greek. He makes no attempt to separate words. Only once, I believe, does he use a true omega. In general he represents omega by a mark like a large iota followed by an omicron; but he often has instead an open sigma followed by an omicron. Evidently the omega in his model was made in two separate strokes. He does not distinguish between delta and lambda. His sign for alpha is very nearly the same as his sign for delta and lambda, and he often writes alpha for delta or lambda, or *vice versa*. His ligature for sigma tau is very nearly the same as his ligature for epsilon iota, and he often writes one for the other. Doubtless he was in many such cases misled by error or indistinctness in his model. He has a definite form for each of the letters gamma, epsilon, theta, omicron, rho, the open sigma, and tau; but often writes tau for gamma, epsilon for theta, omicron for epsilon, and open sigma for rho. These errors are chiefly due, it would seem, to the presence in his model of letters in which some strokes were broken or indistinct. He has no understanding of accents or breathings, but uses to represent them a miscellaneous set of dots and short curved lines.

I transcribe herewith the first two of the Greek quotations. It

[1] On the Greek quotations in the second autograph, the other apographs, and the editions, see above, pp. 7–14.

should be borne in mind that such transcription does the scribe an injustice, for the spellings that look absurd in modern notation reveal in the MS a conscientious effort to render the letters of his model.[1]

The first quotation is as follows (f. 46r; see Plate VIII):

ηκαιαποστηεεσφινελυσατοκεστονιμανταποικιαονενταδεοιεελητηειαπαντατετυκ
τοενεενιμενιφιλοτησενδιμεροσενδοδριστυσπλρφασισητεκαεψενοονπυκαπερφρονε
οντσον.

The second quotation is as follows (f. 54v):

ωχεκατοτχστρονκαλειονσοεσμακονοαυμπονονβριαρεσονκαλεουσιθεοιανδρεσ
δετεπαντεσαπαιωνοταραυτοοπρσαμεινων.

Greek script appears also, in the Chicago MS, for isolated words in Book VIII, Chapter 17, Book IX, Chapter 1, and the Proem of Book XIV. The reading in these cases is the same as that of the autograph.[2] Greek script appears also in Book XI, Chapter 1, in the following passage: "inque sepulchro eius scriptum antiquis literis grecis *τεεικρονον*." The editions have at this point, in place of the Greek, the Latin words "Iuppiter Saturni."

The Latin text of the Chicago MS, with all its excellence, is naturally not flawless. Certain minor errors may be noted on comparison of the readings of the Chicago text with the variants of the second autograph, as given in footnotes in the first part of this chapter, and other minor errors have been noted, also in this chapter, in the footnotes to the rubrics for the genealogical trees.

The scribe omitted from the text two very short chapters, the 37th of Book XII and the 43rd of Book XIII. In the first case, he wrote the rubric for Chapter 37, but placed under it the text of Chapter 38; in the second case he wrote the rubric for Chapter 43, but placed under it the text of Chapter 44. In each case the remaining chapters of the

[1] In my transcription I disregard the marks representing accents and breathings. I transcribe as omega the combination of a mark like a large iota followed by an omicron. For the text of Homer and the text of the second autograph in these passages, see above, p. 10.

[2] See above, p. 11.

book in question received numbers lower by one than their proper numbers.[1]

In Book V, after numbering Chapter 30 correctly, the scribe repeated the number 30 for Chapter 31, so that all the remaining chapters received numbers lower by one than their proper numbers. In Book VI the scribe failed to number the first chapter, so that the second and all the remaining chapters received numbers lower by one than their proper numbers.

The scribe omitted two initial letters in the rubrics; those of the inscriptions for the trees of Books VI and VII. The omission was presumably inadvertent. In the first case the illuminator supplied the missing letter, in the second case he did not.

For Chapter 1 of Book XIV the scribe entered, correctly, a tiny *v* as guide-initial, but the illuminator misread the guide and painted a *P*. For Chapter 12 of the same book the scribe by error entered an *a* instead of an *o* as guide-initial, and the illuminator consequently painted an *A* instead of an *O*. In each case an early hand drew a light canceling line across the incorrect painted initial, and wrote the correct initial in the margin.

MS 7877 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, as has been stated above, in Chapter I, has hitherto been regarded as the best apograph of the *Genealogia*. Since Hecker gives the variants of the Paris MS (disregarding, however, those which are merely orthographic) for the portions of the *Genealogia* which he prints from the second autograph, and since he reports also in detail on the treatment of the Greek quotations in the Paris MS, a partial comparison of the Chicago and Paris MSS is possible. An examination of the readings of these MSS for the general proem and for the special proems of Books II–XIII shows 29 cases in which the Chicago MS agrees with the autograph as against the Paris MS, 43 cases in which the Paris MS agrees with the autograph as against the Chicago MS, and 33 cases in which the Chicago

[1] For instances in which the scribe, having omitted from the text certain words or parts of words, supplied them in the margin, see above, p. 34.

and Paris MSS agree as against the autograph. The faults of the Paris MS seem on the whole more serious than those of the Chicago MS.

A notable instance of superiority in the Chicago text occurs in the proem of Book IX, where the Chicago MS agrees with the autograph in having the following words and phrases, which are lacking in the Paris MS:[1]

180.13 elephantos yndos prostrare. 180.14 iter 180.18 insidias tendere. 180.21 et compatiendum. 180.25 inlasciuiam ire et inepte ueneri maximos sumptus impendere.

Furthermore, although the Chicago and Paris MSS agree as against the autograph in having the short as against the long form of the latter part of this proem, the Chicago MS has the phrase "architectos undique euocare precipuos," which appears in the long form but does not appear in the short form as represented in the Paris MS.[2]

The other cases in which the Chicago MS agrees with the autograph as against the Paris MS are as follows:[3]

165.16 Equidem *AC* Et equidem *P*. 167.3 iam *AC omitted P*. 168.2 pedibus *AC om. P*. 168. 8 pepercisset *AC* percepissent *P*. 169.17 potero *AC om. P*. 172.11 et *AC om. P*. 172.25 ex secessu *AC* Excessu *P*. 173.4 fame *AC om. P*. 173.10 numeni *A* numen *C* nimium *P*. 173.16 lotique *AC* letique *P*. 173.21 inmolestum *AC* immolestam *P*. 173.26 prestantem *AC* praestante *P*. 177.88 semina *AC* in semina *P*. 177.9 omissa *AC* emissa *P*. 178.19 sibila *AC* silam *P*. 179.30 infixos *AC* infixas *P*. 180.18 iustum sanguinem *AC* sanguinem iustum *P*. 183.11 persas *AC* persos *P*. 184.9 subsolanus detulerat *AC* detulerat subsolanus *P*. 184.18 Heu *AC* O *P*. 186.22 Hinc *AC* Hic *P*. 187.1 scipionis *AC om. P*. 188.10 aut *AC* At *P*.

The cases in which the Paris MS agrees with the autograph as against the Chicago MS are as follows:

163.19 perseuerasse *AP* seruasse *C*. 164.10 mari *AP* maris *C*. 164.18 rhodopes *AP* ihedepes *C*. 164.21 sit nube *AP* nube sit *C*. 164.24 relique fuerit *AP* reliqua fuerint *C*. 165.23 dentur *AP* detur *C*. 166.15 eis *AP om. C*. 167.1

[1] The page and line numbers refer to Hecker.

[2] See Hecker, pp. 127–29. The phrase quoted follows, in the Chicago MS and in the autograph, the words "in amplissimum opus deducere."

[3] The letters *A*, *C*, and *P* designate the autograph, the Chicago MS, and the Paris MS respectively.

deo *AP* eo *C*. 167.6 inclita *AP* inclite *C*. 167.24 grecorum declinante *AP* declinante grecorum *C*. 168.15 per orbem *AP* probem C. 168.21 Non *AP* Nec *C*. 168.22 secundo *AP* seculo *C*. 168.31 iuuat fortuna *AP* fortuna iuuat *C*. 169.3 enim *AP* et enim *C*. 173.2 tibi *AP* ubi *C*. 173.4 cererem *AP* carcerem *C*. 173.20 similem *AP* simile *C*. 173.23 Tibi *AP* ubi *C*. 173.33 eoque *AP* eo *C*. 174.17 tamen *AP om. C*. 174.28 conmouerant *AP* conuenerant *C*. 175.28 elingue *AP* elinguem *C*. 175.32 expectate *AP* expectare *C*. *ibid.* eleganti *AP* elegantis *C*. 176.27 sanctissima *AP om. C*. 178.1 metirer *AP om. C*. 179.27 Ibi dum . . . . delata *AP* Ibi . . . . delata dum *C*. 180.7 cogitationem *AP* cognitionem *C*. 181.31 moneri *AP* moueri *C*. 182.4 inpacem *AP om. C*. 182.7 europo *AP* erupo *C*. 183.12 mores non solum *AP* non solum mores *C*. 183.13 quin *AP* fit quin *C*. 183.16 etiam *AP* et *C*. 183.24 ualidis *AP* ualis *C*. 183.26 susceptor *AP* susceptorum *C*. 184.26 inmedium *AP om. C*. 185.2 deferet *AP* defert *C*. 185.25 eum *AP* cum *C*. 186.13 ut et *AP* et *C*. 186.14 hostes *AP* hospites *C*. 186.25 sic *AP* et sic *C*.

As regards the Greek quotations, the superiority seems to lie with the Chicago MS. Hecker[1] notes that the Greek text in the Paris MS is in certain places unreadable, whereas the Greek text in the Chicago MS is readable throughout. Hecker gives all legible variants of the Paris MS for the Greek quotations. In 15 of the cases for which Hecker gives the Paris readings the Chicago MS agrees with the autograph as against the Paris MS, in 3 cases the Paris MS agrees with the autograph as against the Chicago MS, and in about 30 cases the Chicago and Paris MSS agree as against the autograph, or are on a par in error.

The cases in which the Chicago MS agrees with the autograph as against the Paris MS are as follows:[2]

2 καλειονσο *AC* καλειονσν *P*. 2 προσ *AC* πεσ *P*. 4 δηικτογυναικι *A* ηιητογυναυκι *C* ιητοινλυω *P*. 8 βουιωλιωνι *A* βουκωλιωνι *C* βοικυλιωνι *P*. 14 αφαρμαρτ *AC* αφαεμαρτ *P*. 17 ιοτυιασιν *A* ιοτυιαοιν *C* υοτυαυν *P*. 17 τεκαιβοην *A* τεκαιβοη *C* τελυβοην *P*. 17 αγανον *AC* ατανον *P*. 21 ιφθιμη *AC* ιφθιημ *P*. 21 γενοντος *AC* γενοστος *P*. 38 κτιμενι *AC* κτιμενυ *P*. 46 σμυρνη *AC* σμυνενη *P*. 46 κολοφων *AC* κοδοθων *P*. 46 πιλος *AC* πιδος *P*. 46 αθηναι *AC* αιθηναι *P*.

[1] P. 138, n. 2.

[2] The numbers refer to the numbers of the quotations in the series as treated by Hecker, pp. 139 ff. The number 46 refers to the quotation discussed by Hecker on p. 153. I disregard accents, breathings, and division between words.

The cases in which the Paris MS agrees with the autograph as against the Chicago MS are as follows:

1 *θελητηρια AP εελητηεια C.* 29 *κλητη AP κλη C.* 46 *επτα AP εσστα C.*

In view of the evidence thus adduced it is clear that the Chicago MS ranks with the Paris MS as one of the two best MSS of the Vulgate text of the *Genealogia.*

It is much to be desired that a critical edition of the *Genealogia* should be produced. That edition should of course give first place to the text of the second autograph; but the editor should at the same time reconstruct the Vulgate text, and in that reconstruction all variants of the Chicago MS should be utilized.

## CHAPTER XVI

## THE *VERSUS* OF DOMENICO DI SILVESTRO

The *Versus* and their heading, as they stand on f. 185r, are as follows (see Plate XII):[1]

Versus editi per insignem uirum ser Dominicum siluestri de Florentia super continentia librorum de Genealogia deorum clarissimi uiri domini Johannis boccaccij de Certaldo.

Que narrat ter quinque libris boccacius audi
Primus habet stirpem demogorgonis ethere dempto
Ethera concipiet[2] prolis cum parte secundus
Celius in terno et[3] generis pars scribitur[4] eius
In quarto tithan datur et tithania proles
Est iouis in quinto soboles[5] sed dardanus extra.
Dardanus et proles sexto sua ponitur[6] omnis.
Occeanum sobolemque suam dat septimus omnem
Octauum saturnus habet cum parte suorum.
Ponitur in nono Iuno et Iunonia proles.
In decimo [7]neptunne tua cum parte[7] notaris.
Iuppiter undecimo generis cum parte notatur
Bissenus iouis octo notat cum semine natos
Tercius a decimo sobolem iouis explicat omnem
In decimo quarto contra hostes inuehit autor.
Quintus ab obiectis decimus defendere curat.
Hoc ter quinque libris epigrama dominicus addit.

In the Laurentian MS which contains the *Versus* among other poems by Domenico, these hexameters, as has been stated above, in Chapter IV, are followed by an eighteenth,

Quem genuit ripis Florentia fluminis Arni,

[1] On the *Versus* in other MSS and in the editions, see above, pp. 18–20. I give the variants, disregarding those which are merely orthographic, of the Laurentian MS (*L*), of the 1st edition (*1472*), and of the lines placed over the trees in the 4th edition (*1494 tree*).

[2] describit *1494 tree.* [3] *omitted in 1494 tree.* [4] ponitur *1494 tree.* [5] proles *L*, *1472.* [6] scribitur *1494 tree.* [7] Neptune tua cum prole *L*, *1472* cum stirpe tua Neptunne *1494 tree.* The *parte* of the Chicago MS is evidently an error for *prole.*

and the heading of the *Versus* in that MS states that the seventeenth and eighteenth lines were composed by Coluccio Salutati.

The Chicago MS was owned by Salutati, as will be shown below, in Chapter XIX. Since the *Versus* as entered in Salutati's own copy of the *Genealogia* consist of seventeen lines only, and reveal no indication of any sort that the seventeenth line is by an author other than Domenico, the statement in the heading of the Laurentian MS may be dismissed as being exceedingly improbable.

Domenico, as has been stated above, in Chapter IV, was a friend of Coluccio. A particular interest therefore attaches to this particular copy of the *Versus*.

The Chicago MS is probably older than either of the two MSS hitherto known to contain the *Versus;*[1] for the Chicago MS, as will be shown below, in Chapter XVIII, was written probably not later than 1395 and certainly not later than 1405, whereas the two MSS referred to are both of the fifteenth century.

[1] See above, p. 20, n. 3.

# CHAPTER XVII

## THE ALPHABETICAL INDEX

The heading of the Alphabetical Index of Domenico Bandini, as it stands on f. 185v, is as follows (see Plate XIII):[1]

Incipit tabula per alphabetum super libris de Geanealogia deorum gentilium compositis per clarissimum uirum et poesis lumen dominum Johannem boccaccium de Certaldo ciuem florentinum edita per egregium triuij doctorem magistrum Dominicum de Aretio. Rubrica.

This heading is entirely different from the headings of Bandini's Index, quoted above, in Chapter IV, which are found in the apographs hitherto known and in the editions. The portion of the Index contained on f. 185r is as follows (see Plate XIII):

Abaster unus equorum plutonis libro. viij°. c vj

Abbas filius lini ex ypermestra. libro ij°. c. xxviiij.

Abilam et calpem promontoria hyspanie uocat columnas herculis. li. x. in prohemio. Idem ponitur. li. xiij. c. j°.

Abylam a calpe diuisit hercules et intromisit mare. li. vij. c. xiij.

Abraam existente puero cepere proceres dici dei. li. primo. in prohemio.

Absyrthius seu Egialeus laniatur a Medea sorore dum fugiebat cum Iasone. li. iiij. c. xij. Idem dicitur. c. xiij.

Accha laurentia uxor faustuli pastoris que dicebatur lupa Romulum nutriuit. et Rhemum. li. c. xl. xlj.

Acidalia venus est. li. iij. c. xxij.

Accidas cura dicitur. li. iij. c. xxij.

Acidalius fons est sacer veneri in orchomeno ciuitate ubi se lauant gratie li. v. c. xxxiiij.

Accida grece. latine cura. li. v. c. xxxiiij.

Acestes filius crinisii fluminis et egeste troiane dicitur. li. vij. c. xlviij. Idem honorauit Eneam dum ueniret ad ytaliam. li. vij. c. xlviij.

Acerba uel acerna. nomen est sicey mariti didonis cartaginensis. li. ij. c. lxj.

[1] On the Index of Bandini in other apographs and in the editions, see above, pp. 20–26.

Acastus filius pelye regis thesalie nil aliud. li. x. c. xxxiiij.

Achaya ab acheo iouis tercij filio nominatur. li. xj. c. iij.

Acheus filius iouis tercij a suo nomine denominauit. acheos uel achiuos populos. li. xj. c. iij.

Achei uel achiui. ab acheo iouis tercij filij denominantur. li. xj. c. iij.

Acherusia specus est haud longe ab heraclea urbe ducens ad inferos. li. viiij. c. xxxiij.

Achelous fluuius filius terre et occeani cum alijs opinionibus pater Syrenarum ab hercule priuatur uno cornu. Et ponitur totus cursus eius. hic primo poculis uinum miscuit. li. vij. c. xviiij. Idem superatur ab hercule. li. viiij. c. xvij. Et. li. xiij. c. j.

Acheron fluuius inferni filius cereris absque patre. li. j. c. xiiij. Sed plenius li. iij. c. iiij. Sed c. v. dicitur titanis et terre filius.

Achimenides unus ex socijs ulixis anchise troiano narrat de poliphemo. etcetera. li. x. c. xiiij.

Achimenides filius bachemonis filij persei archimenijs populis nomen dedit quibus imperauit. li. xij. c. xxxv. Et. c. xxxvj.

Achimenia regio ab achimenone filio bacheonis filij persij nominatur. li. xij. c. xxxv. xxxvj.

Achimenos filia Ariobatis regis licie datur uxor bellorophonti. li. xiij. c. lvij.

Achilles peley et tethidis filius lauatur in stigia palude preter calcaneum. Chyroni traditur nutriendus. Inter filias lycomedis absconditur sub habitu muliebri generans pyrrum ex deydamia. Indignatur contra Agamenonem. post mortem patrocli suscepit a uulcano arma noua. hectorem occisum traxit circa troiam inspectante priamo quem tandem redemit multo pretio. demum sperans coniugium polisene occiditur a paride. et sepellitur in monte Sigeo. li. xij. c. lj. Idem datur erudiendus chyroni. li. vij. c. xvj. Et li. viiij. c. viij. Idem occidit cignum neptunni filium inuulnerabilem. li. x. c. xlv. Eiusdem arma fa/bricantur a uulcano. li. xij. c. vj. Idem occiditur a paride. li. vj. c. xx. xxj. Eidem dixit eneas boream amasse equos dardani ex quibus suscepit duodecim equos. li. iiij. c. lviiij.

There follow the articles *Acys*, *Acrisius*, and *Acroceraunі montes;* then those beginning with *Ad.*

The Index, as left by the scribe, contains 1,959 entries.[1]

The alphabetization is correct through the second letter of each entry; usually, though not always, through the third; and often

[1] This count includes the first six, but not the seventh, of the marginal additions referred to above, p. 34.

through later letters. Medial *i* and *y* stand together in the position of *i*. Initial *I* and *Y* are separated, each standing in its proper place. *I* serves as initial in place of *J*, and *V* serves as initial in place of *U*.

Within the article *Dardanus* the illuminator inserted an uncalled-for initial *D* before the name *Electra*. An early hand drew a light canceling line through the *D*.

The articles *Leucotes* and *Orchanus* show familiarity with the content of Book XII, Chapter 37, one of the two chapters omitted by the scribe; and therefore show that the Index was copied into the Chicago MS from another MS. The Index entries for Book XIII, Chapter 43, the other chapter omitted by the scribe, are not such as to indicate either knowledge or ignorance of that chapter.

In the apograph written by Tedaldo della Casa (Hortis 61) the first 25 entries, printed by Hortis,[1] appear in exactly the same order as in the Chicago MS, and differ from those of the Chicago MS only by the omission of certain words which are unnecessary for index purposes, the substitution of a few shorter phrases for longer phrases, and certain other very minor variations. In the article *Acherusia*, for intance, Tedaldo omits the words *haud longe ab heraclea urbe;* and in the article *Acestes* he substitutes the phrase *ad ytaliam euntem* for the phrase *dum ueniret ad ytaliam.*

In the edition of 1472 the number of entries is apparently the same but the order of entries is quite different. The alphabetization is still correct through the second letter, but it is not so often correct through later letters. The entries for *Ab-* and *Ac-* appear in the following order:

Abas, Abraam, Absirtus, Abilam et calpem, Abilam a calpe, Abaster, Acca laurentia, Accidalia, Accidas, Accidalius, Acis, Accestes, Acastus, Acheus, Achei, Achaia, Achimenides unde ex sotiis ulixis, Achimenides filius bachemonis, Achimenia, Achimenes, Acherusia, Achelous, Achilles, Acys, Acrisius, Acrocerauni, Accerba, Acheron, Accida.

Errors of many sorts occur in the Index as printed. The article *Acis*, for instance, is twice inserted, once under *Acis* and once under *Acys*. In the article *Accestes* the name *eneam* appears as *Siera*. In the

[1] Pp. 224–25.

article *Achilles* the name *deydamia* appears as *dyana*. In the article *Abas* the word *hoc* is inserted between *ex* and *ypermestra*. In the article *Abraam* the word *puero* appears as *picero*. All of these errors reappear in the Index as printed in the later editions.

The Chicago MS, as will be shown below, in Chapter XIX, was owned by Coluccio Salutati. The Alphabetical Index by Bandini was prepared, as has been shown above, in Chapter IV, at the urgent request of Coluccio. It follows that this MS, being the MS owned by the very man at whose request the Index was composed, is the most authoritative MS of that Index.

In all likelihood, too, the Chicago MS is the earliest of the MSS which contain this Index; for the Chicago MS, as will be shown in the following chapter, was written probably not later than 1395 and certainly not later than 1405, whereas no one of the four other MSS that contain the Index is known to be so early.[1]

[1] See above, p. 24, n. 2.

## CHAPTER XVIII

## THE DATE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The first apograph of the *Genealogia* was made late in 1370 or early in 1371, as has been stated above, in Chapter I; and the *Versus* and the Alphabetical Index, as has been stated in Chapter IV, may have been composed as early as 1371. The Chicago MS may therefore have been written as early as 1371. The Chicago MS, as will be shown in the following chapter, was owned by Coluccio Salutati, and bears evidence of considerable use by him. Coluccio died on May 4, 1406. The MS cannot therefore have been written later than 1405.

It is probable, as has been shown above, in Chapter IV, that the Alphabetical Index was composed within the period July 1376–90. Since the Index was prepared at the request of Coluccio it is probable that he obtained this MS, in which the Index is incorporated, not long after the completion of the Index. It is then probable that the MS was written within the period 1377–95.

Of the twenty-four apographs of the *Genealogia* hitherto listed, five are of the fourteenth century. Of these one (Hortis 79) dates from 1383, one (Hortis 72) from 1387 or earlier, one (Hortis 63) from 1398 or earlier, and the other two (Hortis 75 and 76) from the end of the century. One other apograph (Hortis 61) is of the end of the fourteenth century or the first six years of the fifteenth. The seven other apographs of which the dates are given by Hortis or in catalogues accessible to me are of the fifteenth century.[1] The Chicago MS is then probably one of the earliest MSS of the *Genealogia*.

[1] See above, p. 5, n. 2. Hortis gives the dates of his Nos. 64, 65, 68, 81, and 86. The dates of Nos. 71 and 85 are given in the catalogues of the libraries concerned. I have no means of ascertaining the dates of the other MSS of the *Genealogia* hitherto known.

## CHAPTER XIX

## THE OWNERSHIP OF COLUCCIO SALUTATI

The bearings of the coat-of-arms which appears upon the first page of the general proem are, as has been stated above, in Chapter X, as follows: azure, an eagle's leg conjoined at the thigh to a sinister wing and holding a fleur-de-lis, between four estoiles of eight points, all or.

These arms are those of Coluccio Salutati. They correspond exactly to the arms drawn, presumably by Coluccio himself, in a volume of chancery documents written by him (see Plate III).[1]

Two of the marginal notations in the Chicago MS, one on f.16r and one on f. 55r, are in a handwriting which is unmistakably identical with the handwriting in an autograph letter by Coluccio (see Plate IV).[2]

We may therefore conclude with confidence that the MS was owned by Coluccio Salutati.

The two marginal notations just referred to are made in a very black ink. They and the texts noted are as follows:

Book I, Chapter 3, Text: Nam sensisse demogorgonem tumultum fieri in utero chaos, nil aliud reor quam divinam sapientiam aliqua eam movente causa ut puta maturitatem uentris idest temporis propositi horam aduenisse. . . . .

Note: Nulla deum causa mouit ut aliquid faceret nisi sua bonitas.

Book IV, Chapter 20, Text: sic et luna dum paulo ante solem surrexisset solem orientem suscipere pansis cornibus uisa est.

Note: luna nunquam cornibus solem respicit. et imo caue.

Other marginal entries, clearly in the hand of Coluccio, though the writing is larger and the ink is pale brown, consist of a name or names copied from the adjacent text. The first entries of this sort are the

[1] *Epistolario* (ed. by Novati), IV, Appendix VI: "Arme dei Salutati."

[2] *Epistolario*, III, Plate II.

names *Genuinus* and *Genua*, which appear on f. 97r, beside the following passage, which appears in Book VII, Chapter 41:

Asserit tamen paulus perusinus secundum nescio quem eustachium quod regnante Spareto apud assyrios eridanus qui et phethon solis egipcij filius cum copia suorum duce nylo nauigijs deuenit in mare. et uentis adiutus in sinum quem lygustinum dicimus uenit ibi cum suis longa fatigatus nauigatione descendit in litus et cum suasionibus suorum in mediterranea pergeret Genuinum ex socijs suis unum nausea maris debilitatum cum parte suarum nauium custodem liquit in litore. Qui iunctus accolis loci siluestribus hominibus oppidum condidit. et genuam de suo nomine nuncupauit.

The entry of these names is of particular interest; for on November 29, 1405, Coluccio wrote to Giorgio Stella of Genoa a letter which begins as follows:

Postquam tibi scripsi, vir insignis, frater et amice karissime, quid quantumque memineram super origine vestre nobilissime civitatis me legisse; nichil enim ratione de talibus potest argui, sed solum possunt que relata sunt ab aliis recitari; quia nescio quid etiam in memoria versabatur, tandem recordatus sum patrem meum Boccaccium, poetice illuminatorem et principem, libris De genealogia deorum incidenter super hoc aliquid tetigisse. ex quo querens repperi libro septimo capitulo quadragesimo primo, ubi de Phetonte agitur, ultima capituli parte, quod querebam. ibi quidem refert Paulum Perusinum, ut Boccacii verbis utar. . . . .

He then quotes the passage of the *Genealogia* just cited, from *secundum nescio quem eustachium* through *nuncupauit*, and adds the sentence:

hec Boccacius auctoritate Pauli Perusini de Genua refert.[1]

It is evidently probable that Coluccio entered the names *Genuinus* and *Genua* in his MS of the *Genealogia* at the time when he wrote the letter to Giorgio Stella. The reference to the *Genealogia* contained in that letter is the only reference to the *Genealogia* which appears in the letters of Coluccio, except for the passage of general praise quoted at the end of this chapter.

[1] *Epistolario*, IV, 120–21. Coluccio inserts the word *fuit* after *filius*, and writes *reliquit* instead of *liquit*. The printed editions lack the *fuit* and the phrase *in litus*, and put *unum* before *ex sotiis suis* instead of after.

The next entries of the type under consideration occur on ff. 150r–151r, beside the first chapter of Book XIII. Three such entries, the names *plautus, lucanus,* and *yphicleus,* appear on f. 150r. Thirty-one such entries appear on the other two pages. These thirty-one names indicate severally the thirty Labors of Hercules, as discussed in the text: two names appear for the twentieth task. These entries are also of much interest, for Coluccio's *magnum opus,* discussed briefly above, in Chapter IV, was upon the very subject of the Labors of Hercules. The last entry of this type consists of the name *Menenius Agrippa,* which appears on f. 166v, beside the text of Book XIV, Chapter 9.

Several minor entries in the MS are probably, though not certainly, in the hand of Coluccio. These entries are the additions in the Alphabetical Index mentioned above, in Chapter VIII, as being possibly in the hand of the scribe, but probably in another hand; and those mentioned in the rest of this paragraph, which, though probably in the hand of Coluccio, are possibly due to a later owner or to later owners. In the Table of Rubrics the scribe did not enter the chapter numbers with the chapter headings; and in the left margin of each column an early hand entered the appropriate Roman numeral against every fifth heading (see Plate I). On f. 62v appear an *N* and brackets, the *N* being very like those made by Coluccio. On f. 65r and again on f. 158r a word is added in the margin. On f. 65v, and again on f. 181r a word is given in the margin as a substitute for a word in the text. On f. 197v the article *Flegias* is entered at the foot of the second column. On f. 204r an interlinear correction appears in the first column. On the same page, in the article *Mesapus,* the scribe had written *inconcupiscibilis* instead of *incombustibilis,* and an early hand placed canceling dots under the *cupiscibilis* and entered *bustibilis* in the margin. A sign of the type + appears on ff. 17r, 21v, 22r, and on many other pages.

Still other minor entries or marks, in text or margin, are due to Coluccio or to a later owner, with the probabilities equal. Such entries appear on ff. 14v, 21r, 31r, 64r, 71r, 102v, 103r, 109v, 159v, 168r,187r, 194r, and 214r.

Minor entries or marks, possibly in the hand of Coluccio, but probably later, appear on ff. 18r, 38r, 64v, and 176v.

In view of Coluccio's ownership of the MS, his expressed opinion of the *Genealogia* is of interest. It appears in the letter on the death of Boccaccio written on December 24, 1375, to Francescuolo da Brossano, and is as follows:

> quis integumenta poetica, in quibus latere solent aut secreta nature aut moralium abdita documenta aut hystoriarum veritas incorrupta, de cetero nobis evolvet? hoc tam affatim, tamque emendatissime absolvit in libro De genealogia deorum, quem multo labore et stilo prorsus divino composuit, ut omnes etiam priscos viros huius rei indagine superarit. quod opus si videris, non dubito te letaturum iri nostre etati, nostrisque temporibus gratulantem, quam tam preclaro labore Iohannis et utilem et mirandam posteris videris transituram.[1]

[1] *Epistolario*, I, 226.

## CHAPTER XX

## THE LATER HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The immediate fate of the MS upon the death of Coluccio remains unknown. No one of the sons of Coluccio inherited his humanistic interests, and all of them were hard pressed for money.[1] Many of his MSS were taken over by Niccolò Niccoli;[2] but Niccoli was in general not interested in recent literature,[3] and there is no indication in the Chicago MS that it was ever owned by Niccoli. Furthermore, all or most of the MSS of Niccoli passed into the library of San Marco, and there received an inscription indicating their provenience;[4] but no such inscription appears in the Chicago MS. Some of the books of Niccoli may have gone into the private collection of the Medici;[5] but no copy of the *Genealogia* appears in the catalogues of the Medici collection made in 1456 and in 1495,[6] and the Chicago MS shows no sign of Medicean ownership. It is then improbable that the Chicago MS passed through the possession of Niccoli.

On f. 1r near the top appears the entry *Sub fin. XIV*, written in a hand which is apparently as early as the sixteenth century. Below, on the same page, appears in another hand the entry *Die autem 6 Junij. M.D.L.XXXVIJ*, and below this, apparently in the same ink, a signature now almost completely erased with a knife. The first name appears to begin with a *C*, and to be brief. It is not impossible that it is *Cini*. The surname appears to begin with the letters *Ag*, and to be

[1] See Novati, in *Epistolario*, IV, 383–408, and the references there given.

[2] G. Voigt, *Il risorgimento dell'antichità classica* (tr. by D. Valbusa, Florence, 1888), I, 298; Novati, IV, 544, 552.

[3] Voigt, I, 402.

[4] Voigt, I, 401–2, and the *Giunte e correzioni* by G. Zippel, 1897, p. 26.

[5] Zippel, *loc. cit.*

[6] For references, see Zippel, *loc. cit.* I have not seen the catalogue of 1465.

fairly long. It is not impossible that it is *Agostini*.[1] Flourishes extend downward from this signature. On f. 218v, the last page of the MS, there appears a similar but more extensive erasure, followed by similar flourishes. The ink is apparently the same as that used for the signature and flourishes on f. 1r.

Several minor entries in the MS, though perhaps in the hand of Coluccio, are probably or possibly due to later owners, as has been shown in the preceding chapter.

Although the MS as a whole is in excellent condition it has suffered from some of the common enemies of MSS. A hole of irregular shape, about 3½ cm. in average diameter, penetrates inward from the back of the MS through f. 141 (see Plates XI and XIII). Fortunately this hole affects only the lower margins. None of the text is removed, save for a few letters of some entries in the Index; but the flourishes of initials are cut in many cases, portions of initials occurring at the bottom of a column are lost in two or three cases, and the lower part of Tree XIII is destroyed. This hole was in all probability made by a mouse. Worm holes appear in the first ten and the last ten leaves of the MS, but they are numerous only in the first two and the last three leaves (see Plate I). All leaves show in part of the lower margin a discoloration due to dampness, but this discoloration is prominent only on ff. 1–8 (see Plate I) and 192–218.

Neither this MS nor any apograph derived from it served as basis for the printed text of the *Genealogia;* for that text contains the two chapters which, as has been stated above, in Chapter XIV, do not appear in this MS.

The MS was at some time, perhaps in the eighteenth century, trimmed and rebound. The trimming was apparently planned to reduce the size of the book as much as possible without injuring the illumination on f. 11r: the top, side, and bottom of that page are tan-

[1] Professor Julius Stieglitz of the University of Chicago has had the kindness to apply a chemical reagent—ammonium sulphide—to the signature; but the character of the erasure is such that the chemical was of little help. Professor B. L. Ullman of the University of Chicago has had the kindness to help me in the attempt to read the signature.

gent to projecting points of the illumination. The trimming injured Trees IV, V, VI, VII, IX, X, and XII, and cut the flourishes of red and blue initials on many pages. The pages as trimmed are 30 cm. tall and 22 cm. broad.

In the binding, boards were used for the front and back covers; and a piece of strong vellum was stretched over these covers, and turned and glued on the edges of the inner surfaces of the covers. A sheet of heavy paper, so folded as to make two leaves, backed by and sewn to a narrow guard strip of linen, was placed between the inner surface of the front cover and the first leaf of the MS; and the back of the linen guard strip was then pasted to the cover and to the MS, and the first page of the heavy paper was pasted to the cover. A corresponding process was followed at the end of the MS.

At the top of the back is inscribed, in letters which have partially disappeared, *Boccati Gen Deor.* Upon the outer surface afforded by the lower edges of the leaves when the book is shut, appear the words *Genealogia Deorum,* followed by the letter *G* and by other letters now entirely illegible.

In 1911 the MS was purchased, together with the rest of a large collection, by Mr. Wilfrid M. Voynich, of London. In reply to a letter in which I asked Mr. Voynich to give me such information as he could regarding his acquisition of the MS, he wrote me, on February 27, 1917, as follows:

> The large collection of manuscripts, acquired by me from its hidden place, six years ago, consisted to my best knowledge of many collections belonging to Dukes and Princes, including part of the Malatesta Library, part of the Matthias Corvinus Library, and part of the Libraries of the Dukes of Parma, Modena and Ferrara, part of the collection of Borso, Alfonso d'Arragonia, and several others. I do not know from which of these collections Boccaccio was removed. Until the close of the 18th Century all these manuscripts were in Italy, but were then removed abroad in fear of Napoleon's invasion. As far as I know, from that period until discovered by me, they were not disturbed, and not seen by anyone. The place from which I purchased them I cannot disclose, due to my promise given to the guardians of these manuscripts, whose former owners, as you see, disappeared, thanks to the unification of Italy under the Savoy Dynasty.

While the MS was in the possession of Mr. Voynich a number of entries were made on the inner side of the front cover. In the center of the surface was pasted a slip of paper containing the following notice, written in ink by a clerk in the employ of Mr. Voynich:

Manuscrit Italien du XIV^e siecle N88
Boccace Genealogia Deorum
Orné d'une miniature
plusieurs arbres geneal.
lettres ornées

The entry "N88" indicated the number of the MS in Mr. Voynich's general stock. Upon this same slip Mr. Voynich himself wrote in pencil "Florence" and "N36." This latter entry indicated the number of the MS in Mr. Voynich's Florentine stock. Mr. Voynich identified the coat-of-arms on f. 11r as being that of Coluccio Salutati, and thereupon added, upon the same slip, in pencil, the notation: "Coat of arms Colluccio Salutati 1330–1404." Another penciled notation upon the same slip was so heavily canceled, during the ownership of Mr. Voynich, as to be made illegible. In the upper left-hand corner of the same inner cover was penciled a price mark, "£800"; and in the lower left-hand corner was penciled the entry "A39," which indicated the number of the MS in Mr. Voynich's American stock.[1]

Penciled strokes by Mr. Voynich indicating passages of interest appear on ff. 12r, 12v, 163v, 167r, and 193v.

Dr. Gunsaulus purchased the MS from Mr. Voynich in 1915; and presented it to the University of Chicago on June 15, 1916.

The 218 leaves of the MS were numbered consecutively in pencil on February 17, 1917, by an employee of the Harper Memorial Library.

In the year 1924 the MS was taken out of its cover, resewn, and replaced in the cover. At this time the binding was reinforced internally by new linen strips, one at the front, one at the back. A sheet of

[1] Mr. Voynich in a letter to me of March 31, 1917, kindly explained the entries referred to in this paragraph, and confirmed the statements in this paragraph and the next as to his own penciled marks.

grayish paper was pasted over the inner surface of the front cover, covering the notations made during the ownership of Mr. Voynich; a second sheet of the same paper was bound in as a first guard leaf; and a sheet of very heavy white paper was bound in as a second guard leaf.

After these leaves stands the second leaf of the heavy paper used in the previous binding. A similar process was followed at the end of the MS, except that in this case the inner leaf of heavy paper used in the previous binding was removed.

After the rebinding certain library notations were made in the book. The entry "Gen. Lib." (meaning "General Library") was penciled at the top of the gray paper on the inner surface of the front cover. The entry

PQ4271
.D6
[13—]
Gunsaulus Col.

was penciled on the reverse of the remaining leaf of the heavy paper used in the previous binding. This entry indicates the number of the MS as an item in the General Library collection (which is classified according to the Library of Congress system). The entry "PQ4271" identifies the MS as containing the text of one of the Latin works of Boccaccio. The entry "D6" indicates that the work is the *Genealogia*. The entry [13—] indicates that the MS is regarded as being of the fourteenth century, the exact date being uncertain. At or about the same time two black labels with gold lettering were placed on the back of the book, one near the top, the other near the bottom. The upper label reads

GUNSAULUS
COLLECTION

The lower label reads

PQ4271
D6
13

On the verso of the original vellum guard leaf near the top was stamped, on February 13, 1925, the library accession number 715422. Some of the digits were reinforced by hand in ink.

The MS now fulfils year after year the special service of bringing to successive groups of students the sense of an immediate and a friendly relationship with the eager Humanists of the early Renaissance.

Tabula rubricarum libri primi generalogie deorum gentilium incipit feliciter. Liber primi.

Genealogie deorum gentilium ad Agonem medicum velim et capi regem secundum Josiam vocatum de certamen liber primus incipit feliciter. Primus deus primus apud gentiles habitus sit.

In arbore signata desuper ponitur in culmine demogorgon uersa iceli radice nec solum infra desumpte pagine sed deorum omnium gentilium pater et iuuenis et fundibus abeo descendentibus describuntur eius filii et nepotes de quibus omnibus hic in primo libro prout signantur sunt distincte scribitur. Deinde ex eis ethnicis solus excipitur de quo tempus amplissima potentate in libris sequentibus describetur. Sicuit ergo demogorgon filii filiique viii. Quorum primus lytigium. Secundus pan. tertia. cloto. quarta lachesis. Quinta antropos. sextus polus seu pollus. septimus phyton. seu phanetes. Octauus terra. Nonus autem erebus.

De eternitate.

De chaos.

De lytigio. primo de mogorgonis filio.

De pane secundo demogorgonis filio

De cloto lachesi et atropos filiabus demogorgoni.

De polo sexto demogorgonis filio.

De phitone septimo demogorgonis filio.

De terra ex filius demogorgonis octauus. quem ex incognitis parentibus quique genuit filios. Quorum primus. Nox. secundus tartarus. tertia fama. Quartus taygeteo. Quintus Antheno.

De nocte prima terre filia.

De fama secunda ex filiis terre.

De tartaro tertio terre filio.

De taygete quarto terre filio.

De Antheo quinto terre filio.

De erebo nono demogorgonis filio. qui fuerunt filii. xxi. Quorum primus amor. secundus gratia. tertius labor. Quartus Inuidentia. Quintus Metus sextus filio. septimus fraus. Octauus pinnacus. Nonus egestas. decimus Miseria. Undecimus fames. duodecimus Querela. Tertiusdecimus Moribus. Quartusdecimus senectus. Quintusdecimus pallor. sextusdecimus Tenebra. septimusdecimus somnus. Octauus decimus Moro. Nonusdecimus caron. vigesimus vicos. vigesimus primus ethes.

De amore primo erebi filio

De gratia erebi secundo filia.

De labore tertio erebi filio.

De inuidentia seu inuidia quarta erebi filia.

De Metu quinto erebi filio.

De dolo erebi filio sexto.

De fraude septima erebi filia.

De pertinacia erebi octauia filia.

De egestate erebi filia nona.

De Miseria erebi decima filia.

De fame undecima erebi filia.

De querela erebi filia duodecima.

De Moribus tertiodecimo erebi filio.

De senectute quartadecima erebi filia.

De pallore erebi filio quintodecimo.

De tenebra sextadecima erebi filia.

De somno erebi filio septimodecimo.

De morte erebi filia decima octauia.

De Carone erebi filio decimo nono.

De die erebi filia vigesima.

Genealogie deorum gentilium liber primus explicit.

Liber secundus.

Genealogie deorum gentilium secundus incipit feliciter.

In arbore autem signata desuper in celius uersa radice ponitur in culmine. Ethnicis filius erebi secundo eius qui ramus et frondibus eius et [illegible] fuerunt filii. Iuppiter scilicet primus. et celius seu celi [illegible] omnis [illegible] prosapia desigi [illegible] omnis [illegible] mole insequenti re [illegible] tata [illegible] erebi tertio vigesimo ipso [illegible] de primus et celius seu

The First Page of the Table of Rubrics in the Chicago MS (f. 2r)

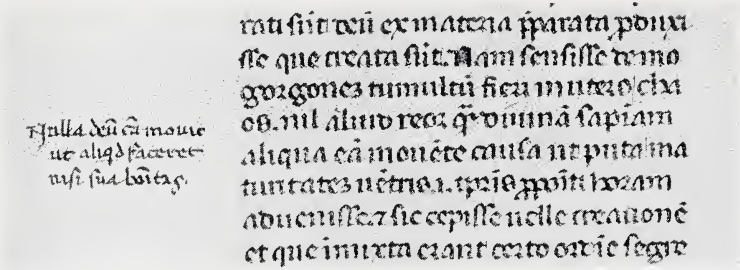
The First Page of the General Proem in the Chicago MS
(f. 11r)

PLATE III

The Coat-of-Arms of Coluccio Salutati

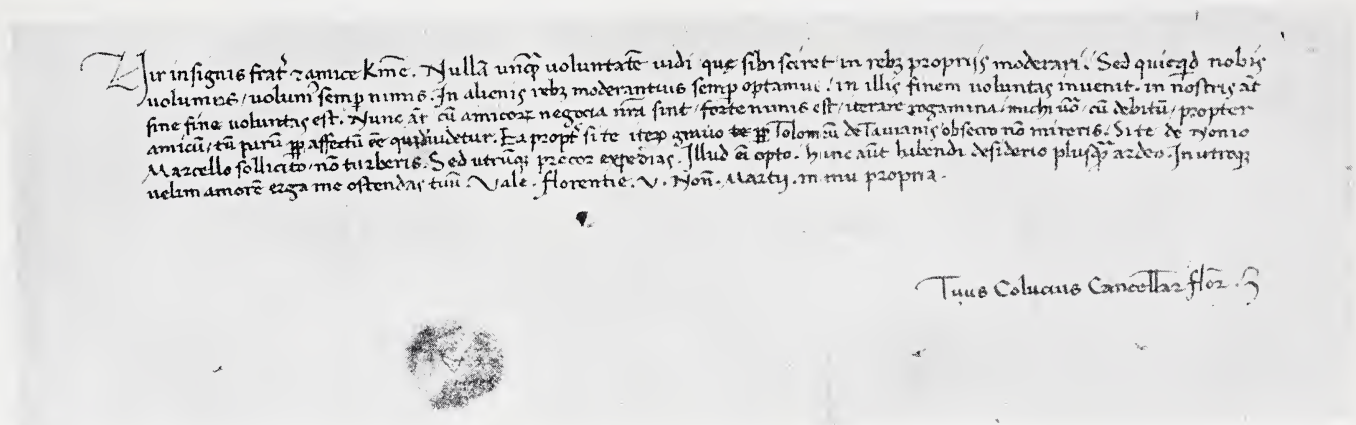
1. Illumination in the Chicago MS (f. 11r)
2. Pen drawing in a MS written by Coluccio (from Novati's edition of the *Epistolario* of Coluccio, Vol. IV, Plate III)

PLATE IV



rati sint deū ex materia p̄parata p̄duxi
sse que creata sint. Nam sensisse de mo
gorgones tumultū fieri in uteris chaos
os. nil aliud reor q̄ diuinā sapiam
aliqua eā mouēte causa ut puta ma
turitates uētris. i. tpris p̄positi horam
aduenisse. et sic cepisse uelle creationē
et que immixta erant certo ordine segre

Nulla deū cū mouet ut aliq̄d faceret nisi sua bōitas.

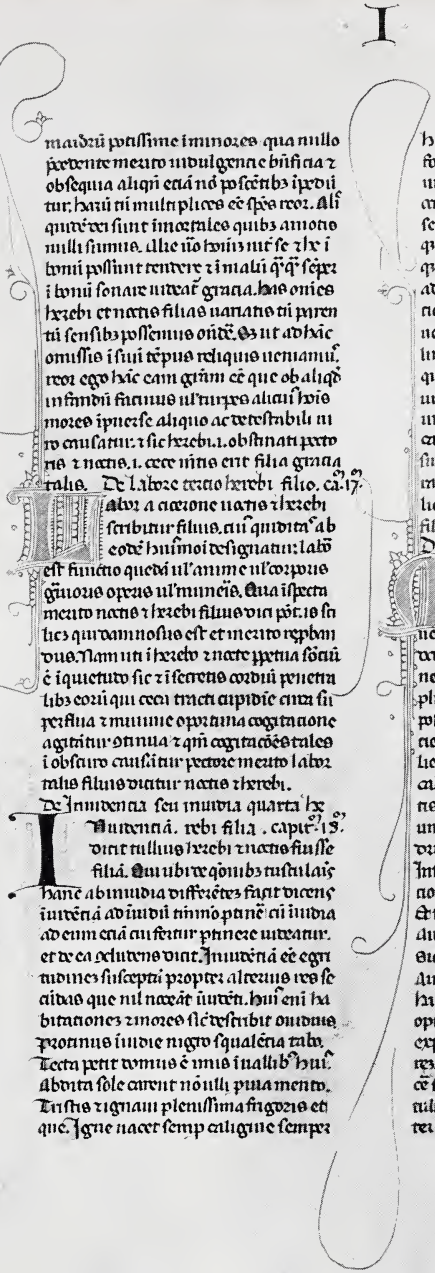


Vir insignis frat̄ et amice kme. Nullā unq̄ uoluntatē uidi que sibi sciret in rebz propriis moderari. Sed quicq̄d nobis uolumus / uolum̄ semp nimis. In alienis rebz moderantius semp optamus. in illis finem uoluntas inuenit. in nostris āt sine fine uoluntas est. Nunc āt cū amicorū negocia nr̄a sint / forte nimis est / iterare rogamina. michi uō cū debitū / propter amicū / tū parū p̄ affectū ēe quidiudetur. Ea propt̄ si te iterū grauo ~~te~~ p̄ Tolomeū de Tauianis obsecro nō mireris. Si te de Nonio Marcello sollicito / nō turberis. Sed utrūq̄ precor expedias. Illud ei opto. hunc aūt habendi desiderio plusq̄ ardeo. In utroq̄ uelim amorē erga me ostendas tuū. Vale. florentie. v. Non. Marty. in mu propria.

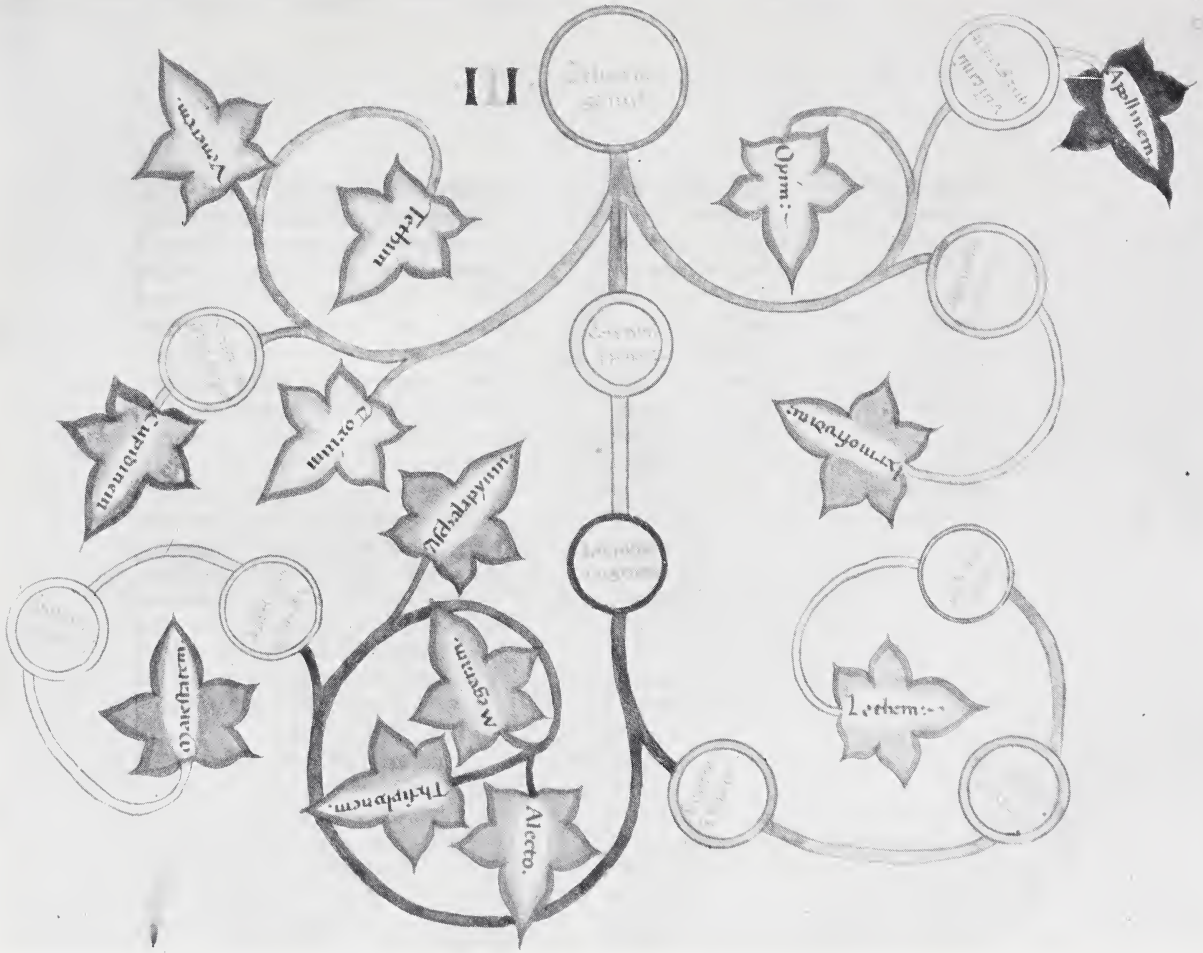
Tuus Colucius Cancellar flor.

THE HANDWRITING OF COLUCCIO SALUTATI

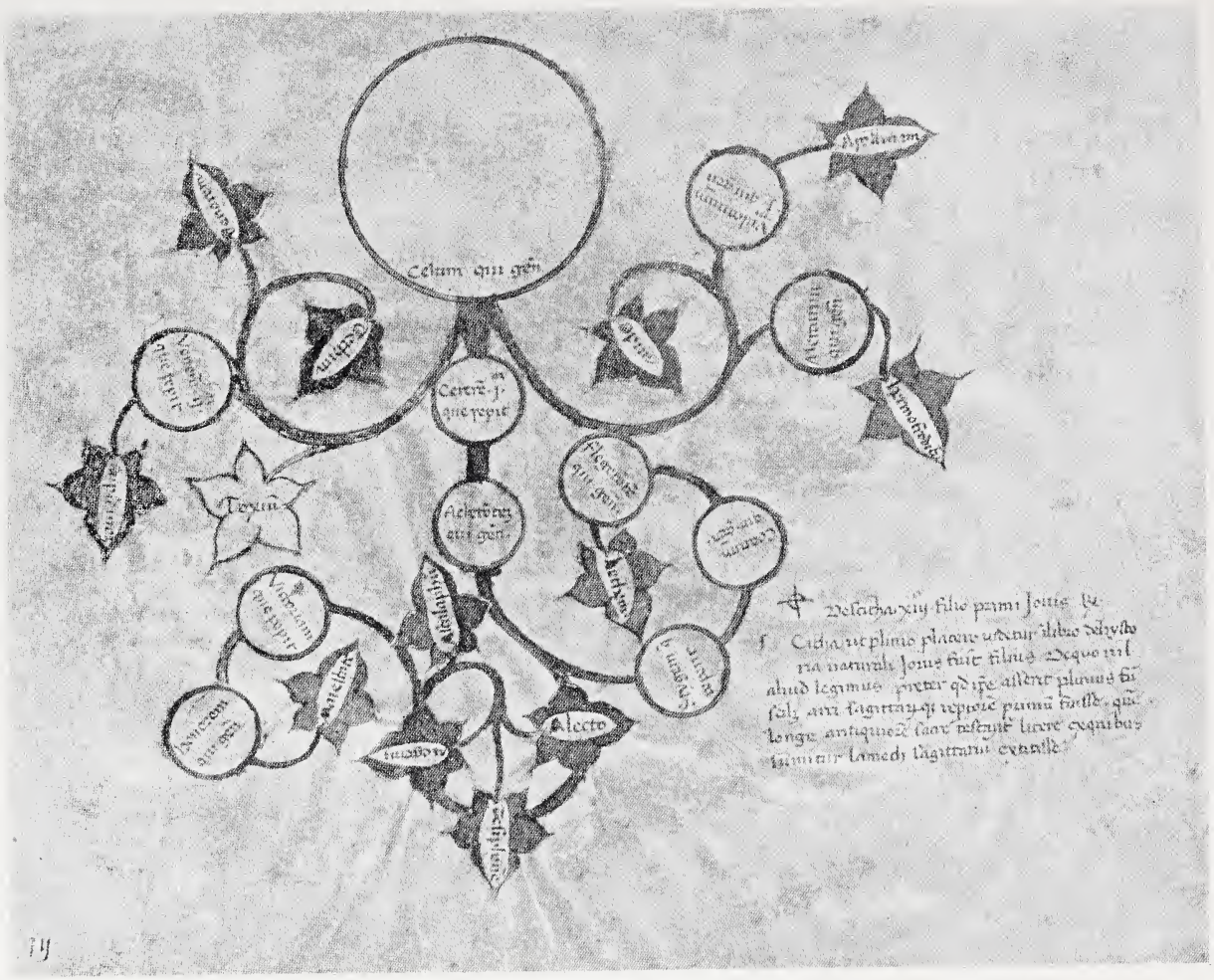
1. A marginal entry in the Chicago MS (f. 16r)
2. Part of an autograph letter (from Novati's edition of the *Epistolario*, Vol. III, Plate II)



Chapter Initials in the Chicago MS (f. 23r)




Tree III in the Chicago MS (f. 39r)




Tree III in the Second Autograph MS (from Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Plate XIX)

PLATE VIII

The First Greek Quotation in the Chicago MS
(f. 46r)

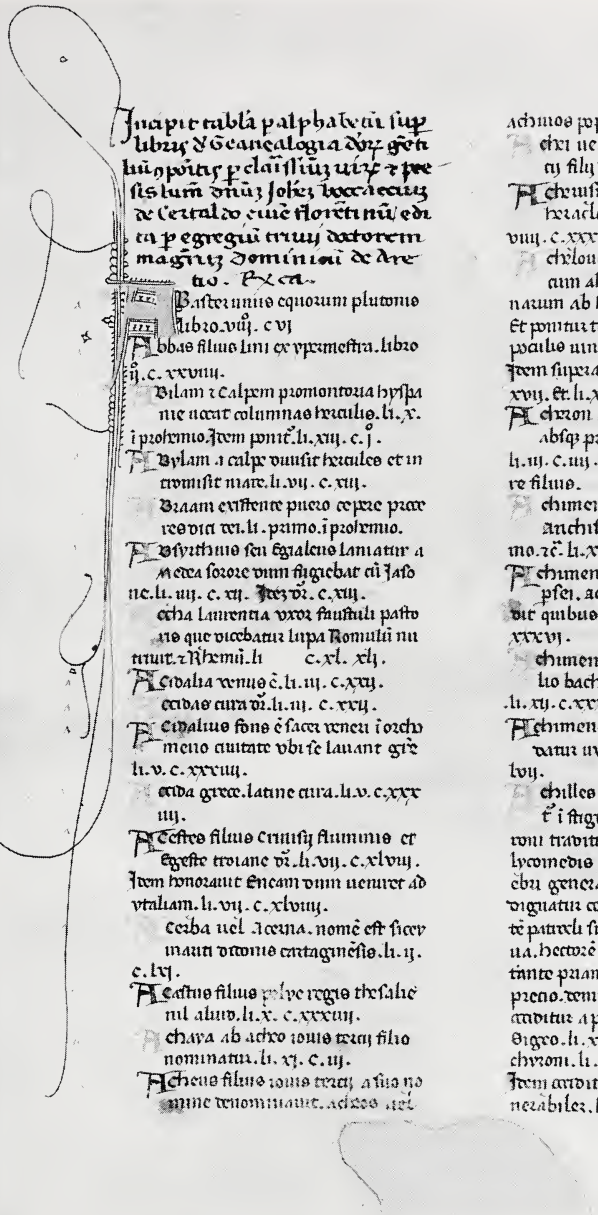
Fuscen
nebu
lis celi
z solis
pelagi
reflecte
ubar.
turbaū
uentos
aeria ci
bria co
ruscata
ones appin audiri sibilamugur solum
z qadmodo i cauernis tumultuaū i sui mi
cere maris z mōstra reluctē efferri ūnq
miscerī undas q̄ritis noluerib tantur
nitē ipsum z i ūbras ipsi nemorū. z i
latebras siluestres abire feras ac omia
repente tristari cepti est. Ego autē mum
n primo. vemii ti grandi rcui pmutacōe
cerniuis i medys strepitu fluuiorū soli ab
hue iueta prospicēs. qd i oceano mum
me tumuerī tumē cepi ne i antiquum
chaos oia uertēretur. nec quid agerem
stabat ostupi. Tandē dui sic i pēdulo esse
et ecce ex oriētali oceano qi se se ab ifera
i alui efferens tardū atq nubilū sydus
ultū è stygia uelati caligie qd dū nebu
lis inuentis iruere memor preceptorū ne
nerabilis Antelio oriesti atq nouū sa
tum astrū fere cogitū. qd dū pmutatos
mores i mīte reducere cessit illico repent
ne mutacōis pnaci z abuinarē z qi eo a
pnēte suauī miserat. a nouo rer iuu
tacōe pmonit cū ex celi filio fs cepn opi
nōies eēt extremū. ad explicādas eius
splēdīdī proles nō uno quirēs uoiūc p
grandis quitē è fs sex istio seqntubz prio
eiocatī me nomi Sane ei labeū nō. nq.
fuisse hystorie testēt uetera. Etruscus
salies. z Ego pnatu. Cretēses atq lēmani
ex his qui erroū z uanū inuicōnū pleiores
fiunt nō dubitē qn facilius irrāt atq ag
dienti pstituat cursus q̄ pstatuire sit i sel
ceo grāteū sensus aut sennocēs i matum fus
ābages. nā ei i cū fere oia uerisīl erroū
ichnet. z gēnīl tratus ifamia nō eūt lene
ad cuni reduxisse diuersitates oyniāui
ac dissonāias eriānū z ātequor reiacēs
ā bigatas z ipsiū pulsu ac tumū erules
atq agricolas reuocasse regē. nō q̄ absq
hoīe quodā cerauī uia prolēq reli
q̄ iter asperos scopulos z pre fluctuos ad in
feros usq pūnatis. aquarq ueritū nes
phinnas diuectū fragilis nauigū, pras
z potuisse ei nōdū satis z si p fluctū aere cui
los i pigram quietū eiusturus sis adūtē
possis. Opto ti is qui iundas vitio tomo
z tribules eicēna filiquē p uiao fēis uicē
euacuant i optati eūtū appiet equoi im
ius.

SAtūrī celi et uestē fuit filius ut i lī
bum uū istituōni scribit lactāc
Cui ai alia uerēs opum sororē suas
Ceo uirē gnubio eiq ex ea suscepto plēo
a scripsere filios. Quos aliqui ferūt ceto
misse omio et ex eustigio euouisse. Nō nlli
se uatī ionē opis fuisse. zilli loū ei addit
Lapites pūtauī qi illi pr pissī opis dolūt
p ceo illius celo pri uirilia abscidisse fal
ce. Qd illi a ione fris uiair aly. Inter quidi
ei reg pulsi scribūt a ione. Alī ū ap ifer
nos relegati. Our isuper qui illi senes me
stū sordidū capite obnoluti iceū segnē
q et aumati falce deferibāt. [illegible] ur celi ter
reptcuis sit filius nōnē ouidit lactāc ū i lī
bum uū istituōni [illegible] i testē minuaū felice
mouēs. ait. Saturni ei filigatio eēt a filio

The Initial of Book VIII in the Chicago MS (f. 99v)

PLATE XI

Alimeon
Tyburtius
Carillum
Cenon
Vacat
Vacat
Vacat



Incipit tabla p alphabetū sup libros de Genealogia deorū gentilū poetarū p clarissimū uirū et prestantissimū dnū Joh̄em boccacium de Certaldo ciuē florentinū edita p egregiū tunc doctorem magistrū Dominicū de Arretio. Et ca.

Baster unus equorum plutonis libro. vij. c vj

Abbas filius Imi ex primestra. libro ij. c. xxviij.

Bilam i Calpem promontoria hispanie uocat columnas herculis. li. x. i prohemio. Item pomp. li. xiij. c. j.

Bylam a calpe diuisit hercules et intromisit mare. li. vij. c. xiij.

Biaam existente puero cepere piaceres dia ter. li. primo. i prohemio.

Bsyrthius seu Egialeus laniatur a medea sorore dum figiebat cū Jasone. li. iij. c. xj. Ter vi. c. xiij.

Acha Laurentia uxor faustuli pastoris que nicebatur lupa Romuli nutriuit. i Rhemi. li c. xl. xlj.

Cidalia ventus è. li. iij. c. xxij.

Cidas aura vi. li. iij. c. xxij.

Cidalius fons è sacer veneri i orchomeno ciuitate vbi se lauant gre li. v. c. xxxiij.

Cida grece. latine aura. li. v. c. xxxiij.

Cefeo filius Cirrisij flumiis et egeste troiane vi. li. vij. c. xlviij. Item honorauit Eneam dum uenisset ad vtaliam. li. vij. c. xlviij.

Ceiba uel Aceina. nomē est siceymaum dicunis cartaginēsis. li. ij. c. lxj.

Cadus filius polye regis thesalie nil aliud. li. x. c. xxxiij.

Chaya ab achro iouis tertij filio nominatur. li. xj. c. iij.

Acheus filius iouis tertij a suo nomine denominauit. Achaos uel achiuos populos. li. xj. c. iij.

Achi uel achiui. ab achro iouis tertij filij denominant. li. xj. c. iij.

Chersia species è haud longe ab hercalea inter duces ad inferō. li. viij. c. xxxiij.

Chylous fluuij filius terre i oceani cum aliis opinionibus pater syrenarum ab hercule puniatur uno cornu. Et pontus totus cursus eius. hic primo pyratis uinci mutauit. li. vij. c. xviij. Item superatur ab hercule. li. viij. c. xvij. Et. li. xij. c. j.

Cheron fluuij infernij filius erebi absq; prē. li. j. c. xiij. Et plenius li. iij. c. iij. Et. c. v. vi ritanius i terre filius.

Chimenteo vnus ex sacris vlixis anchise troiano narrat de poliphemo. rē. li. x. c. xiij.

Chimenides filius bachemonis filij psei. achimenius populis nomē dedit quibus ipsum. li. xij. c. xxxv. Et. c. xxxvj.

Chimenia regis ab achimenione filio bachemonis filij persij nominatur. li. xij. c. xxxv. xxxvj.

Chimenes filia Anobatis regis liaeiatur uxor bellerophonti. li. xiij. c. lvij.

Chilles peley i tethidis filius latuit i sigia palude pter calcaneū. chyron traditur nutriendus. Inter filias lycomedis abscondit sub hiis muliebri generatione pruti ex deydamia. Inuiguatus contra Agamenonē. post mōte patroli suscepit a uulcano arma nouā. hectorē cursu trahit circa troiā ispectante priamo quē tandē redemit in pretio. tenui spectans coniugii plisene cruditur a paride. et sepelitur i monte sigeo. li. xij. c. lj. Item datur eudicē chyron. li. vij. c. xvj. Et li. viij. c. viij. Item cecidit cignui neptuni filii invulnerabilis. li. x. c. xlv. Eiusdem arma fa

The First Page of the Alphabetical Index in the Chicago MS (f. 185v)

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